DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 392 093 CS 509 187

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (78th, Washington, DC, August 9-12, 1995). Minorities and Communication Division.
INSTITUTION	Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.
PUB DATE	Aug 95
NOTE	260p.; For other sections of these proceedings, see CS 509 173-186 and CS 509 196.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Advertising; Affirmative Action; *Blacks; Content Analysis; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Journalism Education; Journalism History; Media Research; *Minority Groups; *Newspapers; Periodicals; Racial Integration; Television Commercials
IDENTIFIERS	*African Americans; Brazil; International News; Media Coverage; Media Government Relationship

ABSTRACT

The Minorities and Communication section of the proceedings contains the following 10 papers: "A Content Analysis of Advertising Techniques in Mass Market and African-American Magazine Advertisements" (Jan S. Slater and others); "Political and Racial Adversaries: Southern Black Elected Officials and the Press" (Daniel Riffe and others); "The Portrayal of Blacks in Television Advertising: A Comparison of Brazilian and U.S. Television" (Venilton Reinert and Thimios Zaharopoulos); "Minorities in the Newsroom: The American Society of Newspaper Editors and Integration--From 'Separate but Equal' to 'Justice as Fairness'" (Orayb Najjar); "African Americans on Television: 25 Years after Kerner" (Paula W. Matabane and Bishetta Merritt); "Only in Glimpses: Portrayal of America's Largest Minority Groups by the New York 'Times', 1934-1994" (Carolyn Martindale); "Comparing Portrayal of Women in Black and White Magazines" (Lillie M. Fears); "Fourth Census of Minorities in College Media" (Frances L. Collins and others); "Bringing Multiculturalism to Journalism and Communication Programs: A Study of the Uses and Functions of Multicultural Committees" (Toni Coleman and Lawrence Soley); and "News from the Homeland for Immigrants and Minorities in America: An Examination of International News Coverage by ABC, CBS and NBC--1990-1993" (Nilanjana Roy Bardhan). (RS)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 392 093

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION IN JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION (78th, Washington, DC, August 9-12, 1995). Minorities and Communication Division.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J. McGill

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

CS 509 187

A Content Analysis of Advertising Techniques in Mass Market and African-American Magazine Advertisements

Jan S. Slater
Doctoral Student

Michelle E. Roche

Beth A. White

Matthew P. Langan

S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications
Syracuse University
362 Newhouse II
215 University Place
Syracuse, NY 13244-2100
e-mail: jsslater@mailbox.syr.edu

Paper presented to the Minorities and Communication Division
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Conference
Washington, D.C.
August 11, 1995

Abstract

A Content Analysis of Advertising Techniques in Mass Market and African-American Magazine Advertisements

Jan Slater, Michelle Roche, Beth White, Matt Langan
Syracuse University

Literature documents the existence and the growth potential of minority advertising, specifically African-American advertising. However, limited research has been conducted to study how advertising techniques differ from African-American advertising to mass market advertising. This study content analyzed magazine advertisements to determine if advertising techniques differed between the two groups. A total of 72 sets of matched advertisements was collected from November 1994 issues of African- American and mass market publications. The results indicated advertisers are creating different advertisements for the two groups. But, no significant differences in the advertising techniques between the two were found, suggesting the techniques are not culturally differentiating.

The minority populations of the United States are growing. In 1990, Census Bureau figures reported that African-Americans represent 12.2 percent of the United States population. The same census figures described the Hispanic-American population as growing at a rate of 30 percent since 1980. Also, the number of Asian-Americans has increased rapidly. In 1970 only 1.5 million Asian and Pacific Islanders lived in the United States, now there are over 5.5 million.[1]

These census figures are not stagnant. Minority populations will continue to grow at accelerating rates. By the turn of the century, current minorities will represent 30 percent of the nation s population.[2] For marketers, demassification of the mass has serious repercussions.[3] The single, homogeneous consumer market no longer exists. Corporate America and its advertisements have been forced to change because the American consumer has changed. Not only are lifestyles, work habits and leisure activities now different, but the ethnic diversity of the marketplace is also different.[4]

Diversity is the buzzword of the 1990s. The evolution of a diverse, ethnic consumer has had a dramatic effect on how advertisers segment markets, and communicate with narrow, possibly non-English language speaking, groups of consumers. Ethnicity has become a targeting concern, as well as the traditional age, sex, and socioeconomic characteristics.[5]

Currently, minorities spend $457 billion annually on goods and services.[6] If predicted growth trends continue, minorities in the United States will have a combined disposable income of over one trillion dollars by the year 2001.[7]

Faced with this money making possibility, what have advertisers done? Have they capitalized on the consumer potential of flourishing ethnic markets? Apparently so. Between 1990-1991, mass marketers first devised advertising campaigns directed specifically at ethnic minorities.[8] By 1992, advertisers were spending $500 million on advertising and promotions to reach ethnic audiences.[9] It is estimated that Proctor and Gamble spends an estimated 5 percent of its $2 billion advertising budget on ethnic advertising.[10] Today, almost half of the Fortune 1000 companies use some type of ethnic advertising.[11]

The sudden surge of ethnically targeted advertising campaigns into mainstream media leads to several questions. For this research, the most important is: how are minority advertising campaigns different from mass market campaigns? To narrow the broad scope of this research to a manageable size, this study focuses only on African-American and mass market magazine advertising.

Advertising campaigns specifically targeting ethnic groups are relatively new.[12] Relevant academic research is limited. This study is among the first to specifically examine the content of ethnically targeted advertisements. To gain a better understanding despite the lack of prior research, this study draws on three other areas of advertising literature. First, a history of minorities in advertising, particularly African-Americans, is discussed. A review of research analyzing audience reactions to minorities in advertising follows, and finally an examination of multicultural advertising and the impact of culture is presented.

Minorities and Advertising: 1950 to Present

Since the mid-1940's minorities, primarily African-Americans, have been seen in print and broadcast advertising.[13] The incidence of their appearance, however, was small. In 1946 less than one percent of all magazine advertisements contained black actors.[14]

From the beginning, researchers have been interested in the representation and portrayal of minorities in advertisements. One early study focused primarily on the number of black actors appearing in television commercials. Bush, Solomon and Hair [15] conducted a content analysis of television commercials over two television seasons. They concentrated on the roles and use of black actors during 1973 and 1974. Comparing their results to a 1960s study, the researchers found an overall increase in the number of black actors in the advertisements; African-Americans were seen in 13 percent of the commercials in the latter study.

Continuing the interest in African-American representation, Zinkhan, Qualls and Biswas[16] conducted a comprehensive review of black actors appearances in magazine and television advertising. Studying the years 1946 through 1986, the research discovered substantial increases in

African-American depiction. Minority use in advertising rose from a low point of .57 percent in 1949, to 16.01 percent in 1986.

By 1989[17], Wilkes and Valencia concluded the frequency of black actors in television commercials was still increasing. African-Americans were found in 26 percent of all examined advertisements. This was an improvement from a 1982 study of 1,175 magazine advertisements where only 2.4% employed black actors.[18] Although prior research claimed black actors were placed in more major roles,[19] Wilkes and Valencia[20] found African-Americans portrayed chiefly in large groups and in minor, background roles.

In a most recent study, the representation, roles and occupations of black actors in television commercials were examined.[21] The research analysis yielded some positive and negative results for minorities. According to the study, the percentage of black actors in television commercials exceeded the percentage of African-Americans in the United States population. Black actors were found in 34.2 percent of the commercials, and were also featured in more above-skill roles than found in earlier studies.[22] On the negative side, African-Americans were still acting in predominantly minor roles. When they were cast in major roles, the product they interacted with tended to be a low value item. As a final point, black actors only interacted with other black actors.[23]

Summarizing the entire body of literature, it appears African-Americans have made progress in inclusion in advertisements. Representation has surpassed population to proportional levels and roles are improving.[24]

Audience Perception of Minorities in Advertising

Advertisers want to know how audiences will react to ethnically-targeted advertising and how effective the campaigns are. Owing most likely to its newness, the effectiveness of advertising campaigns targeting minorities has not been tested. Marketers and advertisers wishing to build effective campaigns must look to other research. Several studies observing audiences' reactions to minorities' presence in advertising have been conducted. Researchers have also observed the effects a viewer s ethnicity has on his/her interpretation of advertising messages.

The first stream of research focuses mainly on audience reactions to minority actors in advertising. In 1979, Kerin conducted a study following the effects of black models on product evaluation. For the experiment, he varied the hair and skin tone of black models between Caucasian and Negroid. His results determined the models physical appearance affected the participants' responses to the test product. African-American participants responded most positively when models displayed traditional black characteristics.[25]

Further studies established that a high level of television viewing among African-Americans was accompanied by low self-esteem due to constant exposure to Caucasian oriented television.[26] From this study it was reported that African-Americans were dissatisfied with the quality of their portrayal in mass market advertising. African-Americans were most commonly portrayed in low social and status roles.[27] In a later study comparing the portrayal of African-Americans in magazine advertisements in 1950 and from 1980-1982, it was found that African-Americans were more often shown in low-skill jobs than Caucasians.[28] Furthermore, this study revealed that most advertisers used portrayals which were not conducive to the black audience, but to white audiences. Caucasians were portrayed as they would think of themselves, and African-Americans were portrayed as Caucasians would like to think of them.[29]

Whittler[30] discusses previous research efforts observing the effects minority actors have on audiences. His summary of the older studies findings suggests, while Caucasian audiences do not react overtly negatively to black actors, African-Americans demonstrate better recall and a more positive reaction. When minority actors are placed in the foreground of the ad, race becomes prominent to audience members, especially members sharing the actor's ethnicity. Therefore the race of the actor is important to the ethnic audience.[31] African-American participants were more likely to purchase products featuring a black versus white actor .[32]

Whittler and DiMeo[33] conducted another study based on the same principles. Their results supported the previous conclusions. Caucasian viewers were divided between those affected and those not affected by a minority actor. African-Americans, in contrast, reacted positively overall to black actors.[34] African-Americans pay closer attention to the race of a person advertising the product

than do Caucasians. African-Americans prefer to purchase products that use African-Americans in the advertisements.[35]

The second stream of research examines the connection between viewer ethnicity and advertising effectiveness. This research avenue is valuable to minority advertisers because it examines the links between the viewer s ethnicity and her/his interpretation of the advertising message.

In 1986, Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu[36] published their investigation into the relationship between ethnic affiliation and consumer behavior. Focusing on Hispanic-Americans, the study hypothesized that the strength of a Hispanic's attachment to her/his culture mediated buying and belief patterns. From their results, Deshpande, et al.[37] concluded differences in strength of ethnic identification can lead to differences in buying behavior. Audience members with high levels of ethnic identification responded most positively to advertising featuring their specific culture.

Stayman and Deshpande[38] continued to research this relationship between and found participants varied the strength of their ethnic identification according to their social setting, e.g., family, work, friends. These readjustments, in turn, affected their purchasing behavior. Products with strong cultural meanings would more likely be purchased for family settings versus the work environment.[39] Discovering why and when ethnic identification changes could be important tools for marketers.

Attempting to answer this question, Deshpande and Stayman[40] tested McGuire s distinctiveness theory. Distinctiveness theory implies the lower the proportion of the minority group within the community, the more salient ethnicity will be to minority group members. With ethnic salience high, viewers will react more positively toward advertising featuring their minority. The results supported the distinctiveness theory hypotheses. Based on this research, the principles of McGuire s distinctiveness theory can help advertisers target their markets more specifically and effectively.[41] This ties back to Whittler's[42] research on audience reactions to minority actors.

This whole category of research suggests viewers ethnicity does affect use and interpretation of advertising messages. If advertisers understand this behavior, they can target and affect consumers purchasing activities. Census figures and dollar signs aside, this research justifies the advertising industry's movement toward ethnically-targeted advertising.

Multicultural Advertising and the Impact of Culture

Although research on the content and effectiveness of ethnically-targeted advertising is finite, a definition of multicultural advertising can be provided. Bovee and Arens[43] explain multicultural advertising as promotional messages typically featuring individuals from a targeted ethnic group, and appearing in media with an audience consisting primarily of that same group. Multicultural advertising should reflect the cultural nuances of the targeted ethnic group.[44] African-American perceptions of characters, models and symbols used to represent them in advertisements are important as a means of how they feel about themselves and their race, as well as how others perceive them.[45]

Culture is "learned, shared and passed from one generation to the next by families, religious institutions, schools and governments. Culture is learned behavior that distinguishes members of society and includes what the group thinks, says and does."[46] Advertisers and marketers should understand how the cultural issues of language, religion, family patterns, gender roles, education and history shape the consumer behavior targeted ethnic groups.[47] According to Rossman, minorities are more likely to choose brands reflecting their native values and culture.

In a study to examine the responses of African-Americans and Caucasians to the use of African-Americans in advertisements, African-Americans responded more favorably to the message than Caucasians.[48] This supports earlier research. But the study also uncovered the element of cultural influence in the advertisements. African-Americans elicited a stronger and more positive response to the brand advertised, giving the message more value.[49]

Following this track, other studies supported the findings that successful advertising targeting African-American consumers should embrace the values held by the African-American community.[50] This study identified tradition, harmony and community image as important values

for African-Americans.[51] Campenelli[52] concluded that advertisements featuring a harmonious community atmosphere, upscale environments and integrated settings tend to be more readily accepted by African-Americans. Furthermore it was also suggested that advertisements targeting African-Americans are more effective when the copy and visuals correspond to each other.[53]

From the research collected on culture's impact and audience perceptions, it appears that advertisements using techniques that emphasize African-American culture, values and images will be the most effective. The current research seeks to discover whether or not the advertising industry is heeding this advice. Can strong differences be seen in magazine advertisements targeting African-Americans versus magazine advertisements targeting the mass market? Or are advertisers merely recycling and reusing the same messages? Either way, this research asks the question: To what extent do advertising techniques in magazine advertisements targeting African-Americans differ from advertising techniques in magazine advertisements targeting a mass market?

Research Methods

Content analysis has proved to be a valuable research method in communication[54] and recently has been successfully used by marketers to investigate consumer and product presentation in the media.[55] For advertisements to communicate successfully, the components of the advertisement (text and visuals) must be relevant to the consumer.[56] Analyzing the use of language, mode of expression and visuals in print advertisements is helpful in understanding the message delivered in the advertisement. Content analysis allows for an objective, systematic and quantitative description of the communication.[57]

Using the content analysis method, this study examined advertisements in both African-American and mass market magazines. Magazines were selected as they are the most consistent, documented evidence of advertisers' techniques in structuring advertisements directed to specific audiences. Furthermore, magazines offer the highest and most consistent reproduction quality in the print media. Each advertisement should be equal in production values, thereby reducing the risk of production being a factor in interpretation or coding.

This cross-sectional study consisted of advertisements selected from November 1994 issues of consumer publications. There was no evidence in the literature to suggest that the nature of advertisements would vary greatly over a period of time. Advertisements were matched by brands.

There is much disagreement among researchers as to whether content analysis must be limited to manifest content.[58] Babbie,[59] defining manifest content as the visible surface content and latent content as the underlying meaning of the communication, recommends the use of both methods as a means of controlling for reliability and validity. Because the interpretation of advertising is often subjective and content is not always in contextual form, specifically when dealing with cultural and symbolic issues as they relate to target audiences, this study was coded using both manifest and latent content in the advertisements.

Concepts and Variables

Magazine advertisements directed to African-American consumers and magazine advertisements directed toward the mass market were examined. The three concepts identified by the research question are: advertising techniques, the African American consumer and the mass market consumer.

Advertising techniques refer to the physical form in which the advertising message appears.[60] This study defined the term techniques as the copy and art elements used in creating advertisements.[61] This would include both verbal and nonverbal elements of the advertisements. In this study, African-American is defined as the recipients of advertising techniques found in African-American magazines, that feature African Americans and/or African-American symbols.[62] The mass market is considered the recipients of advertising techniques placed in publications directed toward the general population, although they may be targeted to a specific age or gender segment of the mass population.[63]

To ensure validity of the measurements taken, the variables and operational definitions were adapted from advertising literature. Twenty variables were identified as being indicative of effective advertising techniques from the existing body of knowledge. The broad definitions of the variables used for the coding instrument are as follows:

- Identical ads: brand advertisements which were exactly alike for both groups. For example, the Tide ad in the mass market publication was identical to the Tide ad in the African-American publication.
- Focus of message: the context of the copy of the ad. Either benefit, depicting the functional aspects of the product or lifestyle, highlighting the lifestyle of the user.
- Appeals: the motive to which the ad is directed. Either rational, the functional need for the product, or emotional, the psychological, social or symbolic need for the product.[64]
- Relevance: the quality that makes the message important to the audience by relating the product situation to the consumer. Measures included the use of the word "you", the relationship of the copy to the main visual and to the product, and the relationship of the copy and visuals to the target audience's culture and/or heritage.[65]
- Models: the use of human models within the advertisements and their depiction, either photographed, illustrated or combination. Additionally, the gender, ethnicity, age and the role of the model in the ad were measured.
- Type of presenter: how the people in the advertisement related to the product.[66] For example, was the presenter a celebrity, or did the presenter depict an actual user.
- Product presentation: how the product is presented or visualized in the ad.[67]
- Environmental setting: establishes the context in which the product is used or depicted against the activities and lifestyles of the consumer.[68]

From these variables, operational definitions were produced for the coding instrument. (Please contact the authors for the coding guide.)

Sampling Technique

The population for the study consisted of all African-American and mass market magazines. To construct the sample, African-American magazines were considered first as they were most restrictive by quantity. The Standard Rate and Data Service[69] for consumer publications listed 22 publications under the African-American category. Those publications were collapsed into magazines, based on criteria of the publication date (weekly or monthly as opposed to annually,

quarterly or less that 10 times per year), and mass consumer orientation (as opposed to a business-to-business or regional publication). These publications (*Ebony, EM, Essence, Black Enterprise, Jet, Upscale, Heart and Soul, and YSB)* comprised different editorial categories: news, general editorial, men, women, business and finance, health and fitness, and teens.

Using the SRDS,[70] the editorial content and publication dates were matched to mass market publications. Because there was a larger selection of mass market publications and the study required match advertisements, the mass market publication sample was expanded to include at least two publications from each category. The editorial category was important in order to keep the consumer bases similar to obtain matched product advertisements. The mass market publications included *Vanity Fair, Esquire, Ladies Home Journal, Inc., Time, Sassy, Glamour, Newsweek, Good Housekeeping, Better Homes and Gardens, Parents, Self, Forbes, Seventeen, People, and Details.*

We compiled a sampling frame of all applicable advertisements from the November, 1994 issue of each magazine. Approximately 64% of the advertisements were in full page or double truck formats. In order for size not to be an issue in presentation, only full-page advertisements were analyzed. Approximately 15% of the advertisements in the African-American publications were for African-American products, such as hair care products, cosmetics, etc. These ads were removed from the sampling frame as they could not be matched within the mass market publications. Exact duplicate advertisements were discarded so no ad would be analyzed more than once.

A list from both sets of publications was compared to match like products or services. (Example: A Tide detergent advertisement in a mass market magazine was matched with a Tide detergent advertisement in an African-American magazine.) A total of 72 sets of advertisements were found. Fourteen of the matched advertisements were used for reliability testing.

Pretesting

Prior to coding the advertisements, a pretest intercoder reliability check was conducted. The first pretest to check reliability used nine pairs of matched advertisements and four graduate students examined the same sets of ads. The first reliability check had a relatively low reliability of 66 percent, with a range of 39 percent to 100 percent. The coding instrument was adjusted and

definitions that were confusing or vague were redefined to provide more clarity. A second reliability check was conducted using five new sets of advertisements and the same four coders. Reliability had improved to 84 percent, with a range of 78 percent to 95 percent.

Results

We coded a total of 72 matched sets of advertisements. Product categories most predominate in the matched sets were automotive (15.3%), alcohol (9%), cigarettes (8.3%), food products (6.9%), cosmetics(6.9%), and drug and health care (6.9%). Of the 72 sets, only 19 percent of the advertisements were identical to both target groups. Those product categories that used the same ad for both markets were: food products (40%), cosmetics (20%), clothing (66.7%), automobiles (31.8%), drug and health care (40%) and travel (25%).

Relevance techniques: No significant difference exists in the techniques advertisers used to convey the relevance of their message to either the African-American or mass market consumer.

Overall, the focus of the advertising message was predominantly product benefit (70%) over highlighting the lifestyle of the user. It was surprising then that the presenter type in all the advertisements were typical users of the product (53.5%) the user's lifestyle, yet the message was about product benefits. Furthermore, the products within all the advertisements were shown alone (44%) and the typical user only interacted with the product in 19 percent of the advertisements. The combination of rational and emotional appeared in 42.4% of the advertisements, but more often in African-American (47.2%) than mass market (37%). The environmental setting of the ad was not determined in the majority of all advertisements (52.1%) primarily because of close up photography of models, no interaction with other models and products were seldom shown in use. The family setting was depicted in 21 percent of all advertisements, and was slightly higher for African-American advertisements (25%) than for the mass market advertisements (17%).

Models: Of the 144 advertisements, 72 percent contained human models. Tables 1 and 2 provide the model ethnicity and the model roles within the advertisements, by market. As indicated in the tables, six of the eight model categories were significantly different.

The ethnicity of models was found to differ significantly by market. Caucasian models were most often found in mass market advertisements (79.2%), while Caucasian models were only found in 14.5 percent of African-American advertisements with models. African-American models dominated African-American advertisements (90.9%) and were more than representative in mass market advertisements (33.3%).

We defined a major role as one in which the model spoke about or interacted with the product. Differences were apparent in this category as well. Caucasian models had major roles in 47.9 percent of mass market advertisements, but only 7.3 percent of African-American advertisements. African-American models were cast in major roles in 58.2 percent of the African-American advertisements and in 16.7 percent of mass market advertisements. Significant differences existed for minor roles, where the model has average importance, but does not handle the product. Caucasian models had minor roles in 35.4 percent of mass market advertisements and 9.1 percent African-American advertisements. African-American models appeared in minor roles in 40 percent of African-American advertisements and 20.8 percent of mass market advertisements. Background roles for both markets were insignificant. These types of roles were used so infrequently in the ads that in tabulation, many of the cell frequencies were < 5.

Table 1

Model Ethnicity

Caucasian Models	Publication		
	Mass Market	African-American	
None	20.8%	85.5%	55.3%
One or more	79.2%	14.5%	44.7%

$x^2=43.3$, df=1, $p \leq .001$

African-American Models — Publication

	Mass Market	African-American	
None	66.7%	9.1%	35.9%
One or more	33.3%	90.9%	64.1%

x2=36.91, df=1, p≤ .001

Table 2

Model Ethnicity and Role

Caucasian Model & Major Roles — Publication

	Mass Market	African-American	
None	52.1%	92.7%	73.8%
One or more	47.9%	7.3%	26.2%

x^2=21.89, df=1, p≤ .001

African-American Model & Major Roles — Publication

	Mass Market	African-American	
None	83.3%	41.8%	61.2%
One or more	16.7%	58.2%	38.8%

x^2=18.59, df=1, p≤ .001

Cultural techniques: Table 3 reflects the two significant techniques that test cultural references in the copy and visuals within the advertisements.

Although the differences were significant, it should be noted that only 8.3 percent of the African-American advertisements included any visual cultural references or symbols. Those included: members of the Dance Theatre of Harlem, the world as a symbol of racial unity, and hairstyles, clothing and colors that are representative of African-American heritage. These references were found in advertisements for food products, alcohol, cigarettes, toys and collectibles.

In terms of cultural references in copy, only 16.7 percent of African-American advertisements contained such references. Those included: "Kids of Color"; "pride in cultural heritage"; "Dance Theatre of Harlem"; "ashiness"; "attitudes"; "hair weev"; "MaMa"; and "minority-owned business." The advertisements in which these references were found were food products, alcohol, cosmetics, cologne, clothing, automobiles, electronics, personal hygiene and cigarettes.

Table 3

Cultural Techniques

	Publication		
	Mass Market	African-American	
Visual Symbol		8.3%	4.2%
No Visual Symbols	100.0%	91.7%	95.8%

x2=6.26, df=1, p≤ .01

	Publication		
	Mass Market	African-American	
Copy Reference		16.7%	8.3%
One or more	100.0%	83.3%	91.7%

x2=13.09, df=1, p≤ .001

Product types: In general, advertisers tried to make the advertisements in both markets relevant by the use of the word "you" (63.6%), relating the copy to the product (87.3%), and by relating the copy to the visual (90.7%). The most frequent presenter type was a typical user (52.5%) and the product was most often shown alone (45.8%). There seems to be little regard for the environmental setting of the advertising as a majority of the settings could not be determined (53.4%) and the next most frequent setting was family or home (23.7%). The message was most often focused on the product benefits (73.7%) rather than the lifestyle of the user (25.4%). And the combination of rational and emotional appeals was the most common (41.5%). Furthermore, there were no significant differences across product categories, which might indicate that certain

techniques might be more determined by product than target group. That was not the case in this study.

Discussion

These results would suggest that the only difference in advertising techniques across these two target groups is in the use of ethnic models. There is no evidence that advertisers are adhering to the literature that suggests effective ethnic advertising must appeal to and reflect the culture of the target group.

The fact that less than 20% of the advertisements were identical suggests that advertisers are indeed changing their advertisements for the African-American market. Identical advertisements were found in the product categories of food products, automobiles and drug and health care, which are categories recognized in previous research as most often using African-American models.[71] This perhaps points to the use of ethnic advertising as a factor of the brand, not the product category. Since the only significant difference in techniques appears in model ethnicity, it would seem that advertisers are simply using African-American models as the only point of relevance to the African-American target group. But is that enough?

In a recent study of black consumer's, 59 percent of those responding said they believed television, radio and print advertisements were "designed only for white people."[72] Furthermore, the literature is clear that African-Americans consumers find advertisements with African-American models more trustworthy and that trust leads to a more positive attitude about the brand advertised.[73] But references to the African-American culture and heritage are just as important in making the advertisements relevant to the ethnic audience.[74]

Only a handful of advertisers used cultural cues in copy and in visuals to provide advertising relevance. The advertisers using cultural references were in product categories which have included African-Americans in their advertisements for some time, i.e. food products, cigarettes, automobiles, electronics, and alcohol.[75] Nevertheless, the use of these cultural references is quite minimal. If advertisers are going to the expense of developing ethnic specific advertising,

why are they not changing the advertisements more, especially when using African-American publications? Or is changing the ethnicity of the model in the ad enough for the audience?

This study reinforces previous research that advertising is becoming more integrated and that African-Americans have achieved more important roles in advertisements. This is of major importance to the African-American consumer.[76] Furthermore the representation of African-American's in mass market advertisements was greater than the population proportion found in earlier research,[77] but very similar to the most recent study of African-Americans in television commercials.[78]

Two possible limitations to this work should be used interpreting these findings.

1. Only 72 product advertisement matches were found, which is a relatively small sample. There's no indication from the literature or from the publications that more matched, un-duplicated advertisements would have been obtained with a longitudinal study at this time. However, with the influx of more ethnic campaigns, there would no doubt be larger samples available in the future and it would be appropriate to study this again. In addition, it is unknown at this time if more advertisements could be obtained using television as the medium, but that type of research warrants exploration as well. To date, the only research of ethnic advertising on television has been regarding portrayals and roles of African-Americans in commercials. The study of advertising techniques has not been undertaken with television commercials.

2. The variables used in this study quite possibility were more oriented to general advertising techniques that are more determined by product category rather than ethnicity. Of all the research that has been conducted on the African-American portrayals and representation in advertising, there is no research on the cultural elements that are effective in African-American advertising. Although research makes it clear that African-Americans feel slighted by advertising, there's no evidence as to how to modify those beliefs. Future research should be conducted regarding specific cultural techniques that might make advertising more effective in communication to the ethnic consumer.

With the African-American consumer base accounting for more than $300 billion[79] in purchasing power, this is not a target group that can be ignored. The trade press reports that advertisers see the advantages and potential of advertising specifically to the market[80] and half of all Fortune 1000 companies have some type of ethnic marketing in place.[81] It is evident from this study that the majority of those advertisers using ethnic advertising are indeed altering their advertisements in some way for the different consumers. However, the advertisers are mainly tweaking the advertisements with African-American models and have failed to reflect the heritage and culture of the African-American consumer.

Although advertisers see the value and certainly the potential of advertising to African-Americans, it would seem they are confused as to how to talk to this group in a meaningful way. More research is needed to understand how to effectively develop advertising for the African-American consumer using cultural techniques. In particular, the types of appeals, visualization, motivations, and copy points that would provide relevance to the African-American consumer, should be tested. Furthermore, research needs to explore if the use of ethnic models in the advertisement is enough to make the message relevant to the ethnic target audience. Perhaps there is no need to use different techniques to add to the effectiveness of the message as long as an African-American model is used in the advertisement.

As ethnic advertising hopefully changes and grows, researchers need to assess those changes and differences over time and among media outlets, much like the many studies on portrayals and quantity of African-Americans in advertisements have done over the past 25 years. But in the final analysis, advertisers and their agencies must focus on a comprehensive study of the African-American consumer to understand how to create effective advertising messages for this formidable and profitable target group.

Notes

1. U. S. Bureau of Census, "Census of population: age, sex, race and origin of the population by regions, divisions, and states: 1990" (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.)

2. Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, "Black, brown, red and yellow markets equal green power," *Public Relations Quarterly*, 36 (Spring 1991), 27-30.

3. Berman, G., "The Hispanic Market: Getting Down to Cases," *Sales and Marketing Management*, 43 (10), A6-A18.

4. Don E. Shultz, *Strategic Advertising Campaigns* (Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Publishing Group, 1991) 189-192.

5. Berman, "The Hispanic Market: Getting Down to Cases," A6-A18.

6. *Advertising Age*, "Census may mean minority media jackpot," August 5, 1991, 50.

7. Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, "Black, brown, red and yellow markets equal green power," 27-30.

8. *Advertising Age*, "Retailers Target Ethnic Consumers," September 20, 1991, 12.

9. Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, "*Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1994) 145.

10. Thomas McCarroll, "*It's a Mass Market No More: The New Ethnic Consumer is Forcing Companies to Change the Way they Sell Their Wares*," Time (1993), 80.

11. Kern-Foxworth, "*Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 145.

12. *Advertising Age*, Ethnics Gain Market Clout," August 5, 1991, 1, 12.

13. George M. Zinkhan, Qualls, W., & Biswas, A., "The Use of Blacks in Magazine and Television Advertising: 1946 to 1986." *Journalism Quarterly 67* (3), 547-553.

14. George M. Zinhan, Qualls, W., & Biswas, A., "The Use of Blacks in Magazine and Television Advertising: 1946 to 1986, 547-553.

15. R. Bush, Solomon, P., & Hair, J., "There Are More Blacks in Television Commercials." *Journal of Advertising Research 17*(1), 21-25.

16. Zinhan, Qualls, W., & Biswas, A., "The Use of Blacks in Magazine and Television Advertising: 1946 to 1986, 547-553.

17. Robert E. Wilkes and Humberto Valencia, "Hispanics and Blacks in Television Commercials," *Journal of Advertising 18* (Winter 1989) 19-25.

18. James M. Stearns, Lynette S. Unger and Steven Luebekeman, "The Portrayal of Blacks in Magazine and Television Advertising," in *American Marketing Association Educator's Proceedings, No. 53*, ed, Susan P. Douglas and Michael R. Solomon (Chicago: American Marketing Association, 1987) 198-203.

19. Bush, Solomon, P., & Hair, J., "There Are More Blacks in Television Commercials," 21-25.

20. Wilkes and Humberto Valencia, *Journal of Advertising* 18 (Winter 1989) 19-25.

21. J. Licata, J.,Biswas, A. "Representation, Roles and Occupational Status of Black Models in Television Advertisements." *Journalism Quarterly*, 70 (4), 868-882.

22. Licata, J.,Biswas, A. "Representation, Roles and Occupational Status of Black Models in Television Advertisements," 868-882.

23. Licata, J.,Biswas, A. "Representation, Roles and Occupational Status of Black Models in Television Advertisements," 868-882.

24. Licata, J.,Biswas, A. "Representation, Roles and Occupational Status of Black Models in Television Advertisements," 868-882.

25. R. Kerin "Black Model Appearance and Product Evaluations. *Journal of Communication*, 29 (1), 123-128.

26. A. Tan & Tan, G., "Television Use and Self-esteem of Blacks," *Journal of Communication*, 29 (Winter 1979) 129-135.

27. A. Tan & Tan, G., "Television Use and Self-esteem of Blacks," 129-135.

28. Ronald Humphrey and Howard Shuman, "The Portrayal of Blacks in Magazine Advertisements: 1950-1982," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 48 (Fall, 1984):551-563.

29. Kern-Foxworth, "A*unt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 135.

30. Thomas Whittler, "The Effects of Actors' Race in Commercial Advertising: Review and Extension." *Journal of Advertising*, 20 (1), 54-60.

31. Whittler, "The Effects of Actors' Race in Commercial Advertising: Review and Extension," 54-60.

32. Whittler, "The Effects of Actors' Race in Commercial Advertising: Review and Extension," 54-60.

33. Thomas Whittler, & DiMeo,"Viewers' Reactions to Racial Cues in Advertising Stimuli," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 31 (6), 37-46.

34. Whittler, & DiMeo,"Viewers' Reactions to Racial Cues in Advertising Stimuli," 37-46.

35. Kern-Foxworth, "A*unt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 145.

36. R. Deshpande, R., Hoyer, W., & Donthu, N., "The Intensity of Ethnic Affiliation: A Study of the Sociology of Hispanic Consumption," *Journal of Consumer Research* 13 (September 1994), 214-220.

37. Deshpande, R., Hoyer, W., & Donthu, N., "The Intensity of Ethnic Affiliation: A Study of the Sociology of Hispanic Consumption," 214-220.

38. D. Stayman & Deshpande, R., "Situational Ethnicity and Consumer Behavior," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16 (December 1989), 361-371.

39. Stayman & Deshpande, R., "Situational Ethnicity and Consumer Behavior,"361-371.

40. R. Deshpande & Stayman, D., "A Tale of Two Cities: Distinctiveness Theory and Advertising Effectiveness," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 31(1), 57-64.

41. Deshpande & Stayman, D., "A Tale of Two Cities: Distinctiveness Theory and Advertising Effectiveness," 57-64.

42. Whittler, "The Effects of Actors' Race in Commercial Advertising: Review and Extension," 54-60.

43. C. Bovee, C. & Arens, W. *Contemporary Advertising*, (Homewood, IL: Irwin, 1992)

44. Marlene L. Rossman, *Multicultural Marketing: Selling to a Diverse America* (NY: American Management Association) 138

45. Kern-Foxworth, "*Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 170.

46. Rossman, *Multicultural Marketing: Selling to a Diverse America*, 138

47. Rossman, *Multicultural Marketing: Selling to a Diverse America*, 138

48. Robert E. Pitts, D. Joel Whalen, Robert O'Keefe and Vernon Murray, "Black and White Response to Culturally Targeted Television Commercials: A Values-Based Approach," *Psychology and Marketing* 6 (Winter 1989) 311 -328

49. Pitts, D. Joel Whalen, Robert O'Keefe and Vernon Murray, "Black and White Response to Culturally Targeted Television Commercials: A Values-Based Approach," 311 -328.

50. E. Morris, "The Difference in Black and White," *American Demographics*, 43 (January 1993), 44-49.

51. Morris, "The Difference in Black and White,"44-49.

52. M. Campenelli,"The African-American Market: Community, Growth and Change, "*Sales and Marketing Management*, 143 (Spring 1991), 75-81.

53. Campenelli,"The African-American Market: Community, Growth and Change, 75-81.

54. O. Holsti, *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*,(Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969)

55. Holsti, *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*, 1969.

56. W. Arens, & Bovee, C., *Contemporary Advertising*, 1994.

57. Holsti, *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*, 1969.

58. Holsti, *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*, 1969.

59. Earl R. Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research, 6th ed.*, (CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1992).

60. Shultz, *Strategic Advertising Campaigns* (Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Publishing Group, 1991) 189-192.

61. J. Jones, *How Much is Enough: Getting the Most From Your Advertising Dollar*, (NY: Lexington Books, 1992).

62. Arens, & Bovee, C., *Contemporary Advertising*, 1994.

63. Arens, & Bovee, C., *Contemporary Advertising*, 1994.

64. J. Russell & Lane, W, *Kleppner's Advertising Procedure*, 12th ed. (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992)

65. W. Wells & Moriarty, S., *Advertising Principles and Practice*, 2nd ed., (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991).

66. P. Burton, *Advertising Copywriting*, 6th ed., (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991).

67. Arens, & Bovee, C., *Contemporary Advertising*, 1994.

68. S. Sayre, "Content Analysis as a Tool for Consumer Research," *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 9 (Winter 1992), 15-24.

69. *Advertising Age*, "Census may mean minority media jackpot," August 5, 1991, 12.

70. Standard Rate and Data Service, Volume 75, September 1993.

71. R. Wilkes & Valencia, H., "Hispanics and Blacks in Television Commercials, 19-25.

72. J. Flinn," New realities, new ads for black buyers; advertisers rethinking outmoded approaches to key market," (October 9, 1994) *San Francisco Examiner*, B-1.

73. Deshpande, R., Hoyer, W., & Donthu, N., "The Intensity of Ethnic Affiliation: A Study of the Sociology of Hispanic Consumption," 214-220.

74. Marilyn Kern-Foxworth quoted in Bob Niedt "Advertisers Try to Attract Black Buyers," *Syracuse Herald-American* 113 (February 26, 1995), 1, A11; Marlene L. Rossman, Multicultural Marketing: Selling to a Diverse America (NY: American Management Association) 138

75. R. Wilkes & Valencia, H., "Hispanics and Blacks in Television Commercials, 19-25.

76. Kern-Foxworth, "*Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 170.

77. R. Wilkes & Valencia, H., "Hispanics and Blacks in Television Commercials, 19-25.

78. Licata, J.,Biswas, A. "Representation, Roles and Occupational Status of Black Models in Television Advertisements," 868-882.

79. M. Moore, Marketers Take Note of Blacks. Surveys Help Find Target. (1993, September 20) *USA Today*, B3

80. *Advertising Age*, Census May Mean Minority Media Jackpot," August 5, 1991,12.

81. Kern-Foxworth, "*Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 143.

Minorities and Communication
Division

Political and Racial Adversaries: Southern Black Elected Officials and the Press

A B S T R A C T

This mail survey explored Southern black elected officials' (BEO) views of the community press, including both racial (black vs. white) and official (public figure vs. "watchdog" adversary press) aspects of that relationship. Southern states' county school board representatives, board of supervisors members, state legislators, mayors and city council members (n=498) were queried, with data that permitted computation of four indices: racial/political adversariness, quality of coverage, fairness of coverage, and usefulness of coverage. Analysis indicated that , for BEOs, there was no distinction between the racial and official-vs.-the-press dimensions. The greater the adversariness/antagonism between the BEO and the press, the more likely coverage would be rated poor, unfair and useless (for job decision-making). BEOs from larger communities, and in legislative office, were also more adversarial in their view of the press.

Daniel Riffe
E.W. Scripps School of Journalism
Ohio University

Don Sneed
University of Mississippi

Roger L. Van Ommeren
Mississippi University for Women

Presented to the Annual Convention, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication at Washington, D.C., August 1995.

Political and Racial Adversaries: Southern Black Elected Officials and the Press

Blacks are 11.5% of voting-age Americans and 1.5% of elected officials. From 1970 to 1990, the number of black elected officials (BEOs) grew 400%, from 1,469 to 7,370.[1] Both BEOs (68%) and black Americans (60%) are more common in the South.[2]

While growth in the number of Southern BEOs after the 1965 Voting Rights Act[3] reflects progress in black political participation, it renders even more important the relationship of BEOs to the primarily white-owned community press.[4] That relationship is the focus of this paper.

Background

A previous study has pointed out the BEO's unique vantage on press coverage of the black community.[5] And, correctly or not, BEOs are consulted as sources on all "black issues."[6] They are also political or government newsmakers whose relationship with the watchdog press may as a result be adversarial.

But to what extent is the traditional political adversary relationship compounded by racial dimensions? Former Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes complained that reporters "had no understanding of how I, as a black man, had gotten elected. They had no understanding of the things I must do as a black man in power," and "were no more free of racial prejudice and hostility toward the central city than any other white suburbanite."[7]

Some believe the racial dimension acts to constrain the adversary, watchdog press. Dates and Gandy described observers attributing "gentle" press coverage of Jesse Jackson's 1984

presidential campaign to "fear of appearing racist or insensitive to the uniqueness of the Jackson candidacy."[8] William McGowan argued that such sensitivity (among editors who "cut their teeth" during the civil rights era) led The New York Times to exercise a "double standard" in covering the mayoral race between black David Dinkins and white Rudolph Giuliani.[9]

More typically, though, the press is admonished for being more adversarial toward a black candidate. Juan Williams notes how often, "(W)hen faced with press criticism," black politicians "suggest that the white press is holding them to a higher standard than white politicians."[10] Despite his alleged "gentle" treatment in the Times pages, Dinkins argued that New York media held him to a higher standard than Giuliani (who thought he had been the victim of a double standard).[11]

A much-publicized conflict between California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and the capitol press corps had its genesis in complaints of a double standard. According to Editor & Publisher, Brown said his law practice was subjected to more scrutiny than white lawmakers' outside jobs. "Most of you have a level of racism so subtle that it visits itself every day of my life," he told reporters. "Maybe the title of speaker prompts it, but you and I know it has something to do with the color of my skin."[12]

Additional press-BEO friction centers on press coverage of other bodies that scrutinize BEOs. Many African-Americans believe, for example, that BEOs are more often targeted by

prosecutors than their white counterparts. A 1992 American Bar Association Journal article reported that only 3% of Southern elected officials are BEOs, but 40% of public corruption cases involve BEOs.[13]

Previous Studies

Scholars have examined media coverage of minorities,[14] and BEOs in particular. And there is empirical evidence that race is a factor--above and beyond the adversary relationship--in a BEO's treatment by the press.

Chaudhary explored BEO complaints of "harassment and the lack of positive coverage" in 19 dailies' 1970-77 coverage. Stories on black leaders were more frequent, longer, more negative and less favorably placed than stories on their white counterparts.[15]

Barber and Gandy[16] compared coverage of incumbent black and white congressmen in nine major dailies. Black representatives enjoyed greater visibility, and stories about them were not less favorably displayed. Equally important, they looked at emphasis on 12 political characteristics in stories (e.g., decisiveness, courage), but found significant racial differences on only three (leadership, compassion and morality). Finally, black congressmen served as sources on local and racial issues, while their white counterparts were allowed to hold forth on congressional, international, national, state and county affairs.

Sylvie[17] also discovered a double standard. Four cities' black mayoral candidates got more favorable coverage than white

opponents, but "seem to be held under a different lense." I.e., ethical qualities were emphasized in black, but not white, candidate coverage.

A survey[18] of black mayors, school board members and state legislators found press coverage of them was judged "insensitive, incomplete, and inappropriate." And it found evidence of a perceived double standard: white officials were viewed as receiving more favorable press treatment.

Research Objectives, Hypotheses and Rationale

This study was designed to realize several objectives. First, we sought to explore Southern BEO views of the community press, tapping both racial and official aspects. We felt that, because of the clearly racial "double standard," racial and official adversariness would be inseparable to the BEO. Moreover, despite their increasing numbers, anecdotal evidence[19] suggests that Southern BEOs are becoming increasingly frustrated by vestigial racial barriers to their political effectiveness.

How would such a dimension correlate with other measures? We predicted significant correlation with view of newspaper performance in covering the black community and black issues (H1), and with perceived utility of the newspaper (H2). In short, the more negative the view of one's relationship with the community newspaper, the more negative the view of its coverage in general. A study[20] of Alabama legislators found that view of press as adversary was related to lack of perceived usefulness of press coverage.

We also predicted between-group differences. BEOs from larger communities would be more negative in their view of the press (H3). Larger communities are more pluralistic, and there is more of a conflict orientation in news reporting in such communities. Conversely, smaller communities are often associated with "consensus-style" or booster journalism.[21]

We also predicted that black state-level officeholders would rate the press more negatively than local officeholders (H4). An earlier survey found that small-town BEOs, "big frogs in small ponds," enjoy a less adversarial relationship with the local press than higher-level officeholders; state legislators rated the press more negatively than mayors or school board members on items dealing specifically with racial differences in press treatment.[22]

But more senior BEOs may have developed more positive relations with the press (H5). (The source-reporter literature suggests this "coorientation" effect,[23] but it is possible that length of tenure--and the scars of dealing with the press in the South--may be associated with more negative views of the press.)

Method

Using a national roster of black elected officials,[24] and limiting ourselves to 13 Southern states,[25] we identified 3,849 BEOs in four categories representing a range of offices held by BEOs in 1990: county school board (883), county board of supervisors (585), state legislator (194) and mayor/city council (2,187).

Despite two mailings, questionnaires were returned by only 498 of 3,828 deliverable addressees, for a return rate of only 13%. This low return rate limits the generalizability of the results. However, we were able to assess statistically how well the sample represents the population on state and office.

First, when the 13 states are ranked by number of BEOs in the true population and the obtained sample (e.g., Alabama was ranked "1" for both), the between-rank correlation (rho) is significant (.94, p=.0001), a rough index of sample representativeness.

Second, when the distribution of sample respondents in each type of elected office was compared to the population in a two-way table, chi-square was not significant (5.86, 3 d.f., p=.12), indicating a similar distribution of offices. Finally, when all 13 states are ranked for BEOs within each office classification in the population and sample, all four values (one for each of four offices) of rho were large and significant.[26]

Findings and Discussion

Table 1 presents items used to measure press adversariness, quality and fairness of newspaper coverage, and newspaper usefulness for BEO decision making. The percentages of agreement with the first six items reflect considerable antagonism between Southern BEOs and the community newspaper, in terms of treatment in both news coverage and opinion columns. Equally important, race is an important part of the antagonism; 65% agree that white officials have more influence and receive more favorable coverage

than BEOs.

When the items were factor analyzed (principal components), a single-factor solution accounting for 57% of variance emerged. For subsequent analyses, an "Adversariness Scale" (higher = more positive view of the press) was computed from these six items, using each BEO's standardized score and the factor score coefficients for each item.[27] A measure of the average item-total correlation, Cronbach's alpha, was .85.

Among the three items used to evaluate quality of white press coverage of the black community, the same generally negative view emerged. Fewer than one in five BEOs rated papers as doing "a good job" covering the black community," and a majority believed their community newspaper misunderstands (62%) and fails to report issues of importance to blacks (55%).

These three items yielded a single-factor solution accounting for 56% of variance with an alpha of .61 and which was used to compute the "Quality Scale." As before, a higher score on the scale reflects a more positive view of the press.

Only about one in four BEOs thought the newspaper was unprejudiced in covering a variety of areas. Given the BEO's own antagonism toward the press, and concern over portrayal of blacks involved in crime, it was somewhat surprising that coverage of crime (29%) and public office (29%) were viewed as being fair and balanced by slightly more BEOs than the other areas. But even those two areas were judged fair by fewer than a third of the respondents.

A one-factor "Fairness Scale" accounted for 70% of variance with an alpha of .89.

Finally, Southern BEOs rated the usefulness of newspapers for information ranging from personal matters to evaluating an opponent's strengths at reelection time. Major strengths were serving as a source of local government news (47%) and enabling the BEO to evaluate an opponent's platform (50%), though no more than half the BEOs rated papers useful for even these information needs.

Newspapers were surprisingly limited in usefulness for job decision information (31%) or serving (37%) as Dunn's[28] "instant poll" (i.e., as an information "uplink" enabling the elected to monitor concerns of the electorate).

A single-component "Usefulness Scale" (higher = more useful) accounted for 57% of variance, with an alpha of .85.

Table 2 examines the relation of these scales to office, community size, age, years in public office and education.

First, recall that H1 and H2 predicted significant correlations of the Adversariness Scale with perception of newspaper performance and usefulness.

H1 was confirmed through significant correlations (Pearson's r) with both the Quality ($r=.55$, $p=.001$) and Fairness ($r=.62$, $p=.001$) Scales. The greater the antagonism between BEO and press, the more likely the BEO would rate coverage both poor and unfair.

H2 was also confirmed: the Adversariness Scale correlated

.38 (p=.001) with the Usefulness Scale. The greater the BEO-newspaper antagonism, the less useful the paper for the various personal, professional and "representational" information needs described in Table 1.

H3 predicted that adversariness would be related to community size. BEOs from larger communities would rate the press as more adversarial. The hypothesis was confirmed (oneway analysis of variance, F-prob.=.002), though the relationship was not monotonic. That is, BEOs from the largest communities (>50,000) did score significantly lower (-.293) on the Adversariness Scale than their small-town colleagues, but BEOs from the smallest towns were more negative (but not significantly) than BEOs in the "mid-size" towns.

BEOs from larger communities were significantly more anti-press on the Quality and Fairness Scales, too (though we had not hypothesized a relationship of community size to those measures); of course, recall that the Adversariness Scale was correlated with all three other scales. Yet there was no significant relationship of community size to the Usefulness Scale.

Similar results occurred when the between-group comparison was based on office. As predicted (H4), black state legislators were significantly more anti-press on the Adversariness, Quality and Fairness Scales. Again, there was no significant pattern involving the Usefulness Scale.

H5 predicted a coorientation effect: BEOs with longer time in office would be more positive in their view of the press. The

hypothesis was not supported, whether total years in office was examined (r=-.04) or years in current office (r=-.02). In fact, neither measure of seniority was related to any of the four scales.

On the other hand, age was significantly correlated with the Adversariness (r=.15, p=.01), Quality (r=.16, p=.01) and Fairness Scales (r=.15, p=.01). Older BEOs had more positive views of the community newspaper.

Years of education was significantly, negatively correlated with the Usefulness Scale (r=-22, p=.001): as education increased, the community newspaper's utility as a source for various information needs decreased.

Conclusions

Though we were able to assess the general representativeness of the obtained sample, the findings of this study must be interpreted with caution. Difficulty in contacting state and local elected officials, many of whom leave office before national rosters are printed, or who are part-time officeholders, accounts for a low response rate familiar to those who study government officials.

Still, the data are suggestive about the nature of the adversary relationship between Southern BEO and community newspaper and how that relationship correlates with other characteristics.

First, the study shows the BEO's adversarial relationship with the press can be viewed as both political and racial. On

the one hand, BEOs, like other electees, often see the newspaper as a hindrance, more concerned with reporting and commenting on "bad news" than favorable news. But, they perceive a double standard compounding or confounding that simple adversarity, with white officials given more favorable coverage and comment.

That finding of a "racial adversary" relationship is consistent with the findings of content analyses by Chaudhary, Barber and Gandy, and Silvie that contrast coverage of black and white officials. Unfortunately, we did not measure whether BEOs' "gut level" animosity toward the press is related to awareness of the subtle patterns of discrimination (e.g., in display, item length, emphasis on different traits, or use of BEOs as sources) found by Chaudhary, Sylvie and Barber and Gandy. Those subtle patterns may contribute collectively and over time to a general antipathy toward the press that may be more diffuse.

Not surprisingly, this negative view of the community newspaper's treatment of the BEO as an individual officeholder influences his/her evaluation of how well the newspaper covers the community, both in terms of quality and fairness of coverage.

That is consistent with the dissatisfaction felt by most minority groups with their treatment in white media. Stung by such complaints (and finding themselves increasingly irrelevant in the lives of minority readers), many newspapers, particularly larger metropolitan ones, have made serious efforts to increase staff diversity in order to improve sensitivity to diversity in the community.

More important, given the BEO's role as an elected representative, is the possibility that the BEO's personal negative relationship with the community newspaper precludes that medium's role as an important source of information potentially useful for an elected representative (e.g., monitoring constituent concerns, or for job decisions).

That issue becomes even more problematic when one considers the near-monopoly many community newspapers enjoy as sources of local government and political information. If a local newspaper does not convey the concerns of constituents--or is ignored because of an adversarial relationship exacerbated by racial dimensions--elected officials will get information from other sources. Some will be objective; some will not; many will represent special interest groups.[29] How well those sources also reflect the public's interest is debatable.

Consider also that BEOs from larger communities and state-level office, where problems are arguably more complex and resources more contested, are the most anti-newspaper.

Many newspapers are moving to "civic" or "public journalism," with "voter-driven coverage" of government and politics. Rather than allowing officials or media to "set the agenda," news media allow readers to define the issues. Some newspapers refuse to allow interviewed officials to stray from this reader agenda.[30]

This redefinition of news assumes, first, that citizens' concerns will be presented, and second, that officials will

listen. But is anyone listening?

> "Should news media abandon the adversary posture? Probably not. Much of government needs press and public scrutiny.
>
> "But to the extent that news media are unable to shake the persistent and perhaps unwarranted perception that they are primarily and unremittingly the enemies of the elected representatives of the people, they may be unable to perform a potential linking function that could serve both the public and the public official"[31] (emphasis in original).

Notes

1. The 1970-90 increase in BEOs at the federal and state level was only 140% and 150% respectively, compared to 780% in county government, 489% in municipal or city government, 261% in judicial or law enforcement, and 357% in education. See Black Elected Officials: A National Roster (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Press, 1990), particularly pp. 9-25.

2. Ibid., p. 12.

3. When, according to one source, only 72 blacks held elective office anywhere in the South, all at the local level. Monroe Billington, Southern Politics Since the Civil War (Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1984), p. 106.

4. Of the nation's more than 200 black newspapers, 44% are in Southern states. See Editor & Publisher International Yearbook, 1993 (New York: Editor & Publisher Co., 1993), section II, pp. 85-87.

5. Daniel Riffe, Don Sneed and Roger Van Ommeren, "Black Elected Officials Find White Press Coverage Insensitive, Incomplete and Inappropriate," The Howard Journal of Communications 2 (Fall 1990):397-406.

6. In their comparison of coverage of black and white congressmen, Barber and Gandy found that black representatives tended to be quoted more often on local and racial issues, while white representatives were sources on congressional, international, national, state and county affairs. See John T. Barber and Oscar H. Gandy Jr., "Press Portrayal of African American and White U.S. Representatives," The Howard Journal of Communications 2 (Spring 1990):213-225.

However, Muriel Jackson of the Atlanta Media Project complains that BEOs "don't represent the total black community" but are simply an easy source for a press unable to "tap into" the black community's real "social and power center." See Juan Williams, "Simmering Anger at the White Press: A Black Reporter Tells Why," Washington Journalism Review (March 1987):48-50.

7. Carl B. Stokes, Promises of Power: A Political Autobiography (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), p. 164.

8. Studying the 1984 Jackson campaign, Dates and Gandy tried to explore whether media "fear of appearing racist or insensitive" led to "gentle" coverage. However, the most important predictors

of differences in treatment of Jackson were traditional ideological posture (e.g., conservative, liberal) and format (newspaper or magazine). Jannette Lake Dates and Oscar H. Gandy Jr., "How Ideological Constraints Affected Coverage of the Jesse Jackson Campaign," Journalism Quarterly 62 (Autumn 1985):595-600, 625.

9. William McGowan, "Race, Double Standards and The New York Times," Forbes Media Critic 1 (1994):58-65.

10. Williams, "Simmering Anger At the White Press," p. 50.

11. McGowan, "Race, Double Standards and The New York Times."

12. M.L. Stein, "Politician Blames Press for His Problems," Editor & Publisher (April 20, 1991):17, 51.

13. Cited in Byron P. White and Ellen Warren, "Race Charge Can Backfire on Reynolds," The Chicago Tribune, August 21, 1994, p. 1-13.

14. Martindale found increased, and "more even-handed," coverage of blacks in the 70s and 80s than the 50s and 60s, and credited the civil rights movement for making newspaper management "more aware of the concerns of black Americans." Still, "criticism remained that news coverage was 'inadequate, unrepresentative and unfavorable.'" Carolyn Martindale, "Coverage of Black Americans in Five Newspapers Since 1950," Journalism Quarterly 62 (Summer 1985):321-328, 436. Tan found similar criticism of press coverage of minorities. Alexis S. Tan, "Evaluation of Newspapers and Television by Blacks and Mexican-Americans," Journalism Quarterly 55 (Winter 1978):637-681.

15. Anju G. Chaudhary, "Press Portrayal of Black Officials," Journalism Quarterly 57 (Winter 1980):636-641.

16. Barber and Gandy, "Press Portrayal of African American and White U.S. Representatives."

17. George Sylvie, "The Black Mayor and the Press: Running for Coverage," paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Kansas City, Mo., 1993.

18. Riffe, Sneed and Van Ommeren, "Black Elected Officials Find White Press Coverage Insensitive, Incomplete and Inappropriate."

19. See, for example, Peter Applebome, "In Alabama, Blacks Battle for the Authority to Govern," The New York Times, January 31, 1992, A-8.

20. Daniel Riffe, "Media Role and Legislators' News Media Use," Journalism Quarterly 67 (Summer 1990):323-329.

21. Phillip J. Tichenor, George A. Donohue and Clarice N. Olien, Community Conflict and the Press (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1980).

22. Riffe, Sneed and Van Ommeren, "Black Elected Officials," pp. 403-404.

23. For example, see Walter Gieber and Walter Johnson, "The City Hall 'Beat': A Study of Reporter and Source Roles," Journalism Quarterly 38 (Summer 1961):289-297. On the other hand, while Wilhoit and Sherrill found that seniority was related to amount of coverage of U.S. senators, they did not measure whether that coverage was favorable or unfavorable. G. Cleveland Wilhoit and Kenneth S. Sherrill, "Wire Service Visibility of U.S. Senators," Journalism Quarterly 45 (Spring 1968):42-48.

24. Black Elected Officials: A National Roster (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Press, 1990).

25. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

26. Rho was 0.81 for school board, p=.0009; .90 for boards of supervisors, p=.0001; .79 for legislators, p= .0008; and for mayors/city councils, .92. p=.0001.

27. Converting an individual subject's raw agreement scores to index scores involves summing--across the variables defining a factor--the subject's standardized score (raw score minus mean, divided by standard deviation) multiplied by the variable's factor score coefficient. See Marija J. Norusis, Advanced Statistics for the IBM PC/XT/AT (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1986), B.61-B.62.

28. Delmer D. Dunn, "Differences Among Public Officials in Their Reliance on the Press for Information," Social Sciences Quarterly 49 (March 1969):829-839.

29. Daniel Riffe, "Comparison of Sources of Information for Black State Legislators," The Western Journal of Black Studies 16 (Winter 1992):199-204.

30. See Edward D. Miller, The Charlotte Project: Helping Citizens Take Back Democracy (St. Petersburg, Florida: The Poynter Institute for Media Studies, 1994).

31. Riffe, "Media Roles and Legislators' News Media Use," p. 329.

TABLE ONE

Black Elected Officials' Views of the Press, Press Performance and Usefulness

Racial, Political Adversary	% Agree[a]	Loading[b]
My community newspaper is interested in reporting favorable news about the public office I hold.	31	82
My community newspaper does a good job in providing news coverage of the public office I hold.	18	80
In general, white elected officials receive more favorable news coverage in my community newspaper than do black officials.	65	79
Local opinion columnists who write for my community newspaper present fair and accurate commentary about my public office.	25	76
At times, my community newspaper has hindered me in reaching my objectives as a public official.	37	72
Some white elected officials have more influence with my community newspaper than I do.	70	64
EIGENVALUE: 3.43 VARIANCE: 57% ALPHA: .85		
Quality of Coverage		
My community newspaper fails to report a number of stories of interest and importance to blacks.	55	87
My community newspaper does not understand some issues which involve blacks in the community.	62	84
My community newspaper does a good job in providing news coverage of the black community.	18	48
EIGENVALUE: 1.69 VARIANCE: 56% ALPHA: .61		
Fairness of Coverage		
My community newspaper provides fair and balanced coverage without regard to race to news concerning blacks involved in:		
Education	27	92
Business and industry	23	88
Professions such as law and medicine	23	87
Public office	29	82
Crime	29	67
EIGENVALUE: 3.50 VARIANCE: 70% ALPHA: .89		

Usefulness of Coverage

How useful are newspapers for information:		
useful in helping you make decisions in your job as an elected official?	31	85
on what issues are on the mind of your constituents?	37	76
about what is happening in local government?	47	76
on the strengths and weaknesses of your opponent at election time?	36	75
useful in your personal life?	26	72
on your opponent's platform or campaign issues at election time?	50	68

EIGENVALUE: 3.41 VARIANCE: 57% ALPHA: .85

[a] Percentage reflects combined "Agree" and "Strongly Agree" responses, except for usefulness percentages, which combine "Useful" and "Very Useful" responses.

[b] Decimals omitted from loadings. For principal components analysis and scale construction, some items' scoring was adjusted so that, regardless of statement wording, higher scores reflect pro-press sentiment.

TABLE TWO

Between-group Differences and Correlations
of Adversary, Quality, Fairness
and Usefulness Scales
(higher=more pro-press)

Between-group differences:

	Adversary Scale	Quality Scale	Fairness Scale	Usefulness Scale
	mean	mean	mean	mean
Community Size				
< 5,000	-.032[a]	.012[a]	.033[a]	.058
5,000-10,000	.219[b]	.181[b]	.251[b]	-.231
10,000-25,000	.194[c]	.126[c]	.248[c]	.110
25,000-50,000	.083[d]	.125[d]	-.025	-.159
> 50,000	-.293[abcd]	-.286[abcd]	-.328[abc]	.072
F-probability	.002	.006	.001	.256
Office				
County board	.150[a]	.002[a]	.166[a]	-.015
Mayor, council	.070[b]	.098[b]	.049[b]	.073
School board	-.096[c]	-.071[c]	-.058	-.098
Legislature	-.534[abc]	-.469[abc]	-.458[ab]	-.104
F-probability	.004	.016	.027	.575

[a,b,c,d] Means sharing superscripts vertically are significantly different at the .05 level by the least significant differences post hoc test.

Zero-order correlations (Pearson's r):

Adversary scale	----	.55**	.62**	.38**
Years in office	-.04	.05	.01	.02
Years current office	-.02	.01	.11	.14
Age	.15*	.16*	.15*	.04
Education	-.13	-.07	-.05	-.22**

* p=.01
** p=.001

THE PORTRAYAL OF BLACKS IN TELEVISION ADVERTISING: A COMPARISON OF BRAZILIAN AND U.S. TELEVISION

By

VENILTON REINERT
and
THIMIOS ZAHAROPOULOS

Communication Department
Pittsburg State University
Pittsburg, KS 66762

tel. (316) 235-4808

July 16, 1995

Introduction

American history shows that the great majority of blacks came to the United States as slaves (Bennett, 1965). Similarly, blacks went to Brazil as slaves to work in the Portuguese plantations (World Almanac, 1993). In Brazil, blacks and "mulattos" or people of brown color (those of a mixed, white and black race) constitute 44.3% of the total population (IBGE, 1987). Brazilian blacks have strongly influenced Brazilian music, religion, dance, and food. In the United States, African-Americans constitute 12% of the population, and they also have influenced American music, dance, and mainstream culture, in general. In both cases, the black population has struggled for freedom, equality, and for equal opportunities in its respective society.

Nevertheless, the plight of blacks in the United States and Brazil is not necessarily the same. Whereas in the United States there has been discrimination due to race, in Brazil this discrimination is more in terms of class distinctions (Wagley, 1963). As Wood and Magno De Carvalho (1988) write, "There are rich and poor people in Brazil, and the overwhelming majority of rich people are white and most blacks are poor" (p. 135).

In Brazil, race relations are more subtle and complex compared to the United States. Whereas, in Brazil there was an attempt to "whiten" the black race through matings between blacks and whites, in the United States there were Jim Crow laws to segregate the races (Wood & Magno De Carvalho, 1988). However, as Wood and Magno De Carvalho (1988) indicate, "non-whites suffer systematic disadvantages compared to whites" in Brazil (p. 139).

In the United States, blacks and other minorities get some protections via civil rights laws. In Brazil, such laws do not exist (Toledo, 1993). The Brazilian

Constitution states that every Brazilian, independent of race, religion, and gender, has the right to education and any profession. However, blacks, in Brazil rarely hold a position that would require a high degree of education. This is partly due to the Brazilian educational system in which private schools charge high tuition. Public universities, which are meant for people of low income, provide only limited access, as it is the students from higher income families who can afford private tutoring, which prepares them for the college entrance examinations.

In the early 1960s, U.S. civil rights organizations requested and/or demanded that advertisers include more black models in television and print advertising (Zinkham, Cox & Hong, 1986). In Brazil, as Kottak (1990) states, "Blacks are just as obvious in the Brazilian as in the American population; however, they are much rarer on the Brazilian than American TV" (p. 61). He adds that even though the Brazilian black population is fighting for representation in advertising and television programs, their efforts are not very successful.

The purpose of this study is to analyze and compare the portrayal of blacks in Brazilian and U.S. television advertising. Specifically, it aims to answer the following questions: First, what is the extent of the appearance of blacks in television advertising of the two nations. Second, what is the portrayal of blacks in television advertising of the two nations.

Cutler, Javalgi, and Erramilli (1992), state that "the portrayal of ethnic minorities and women has been (studied) in the United States since the early 1970s, but has only lately become of interest in other countries" (p. 10).

In the United States, Dominick & Greenberg (1970) found that in 1967 only 2.3% of all commercials used blacks, and when they appeared, they were in minor roles. Their study attempted to examine what the influence of the civil rights movement was on television and advertising during the late 1960s. They collected data from three different television seasons—1967, 1968, and 1969. Their results

show that the percentage of ads in which blacks appeared increased significantly from one season to the next. The percentage of blacks in prime-time and day-time, doubled from the 1967 to 1969. However, black characters were more likely to appear in public service or promotion advertisements than in product advertisements. They usually did not speak or hold products, and they were seldom the announcers.

Culley & Bennett (1975) explored black stereotyping in magazines, newspapers, and television advertising. Analyzing magazine advertisements, they point out that studies done in 1953 by Shuey show that blacks appeared in less than 1% of the total ads studied. Eighty percent of all blacks appearing in the ads were portrayed as cooks, maids, and servants for whites. They indicate that 15 years later there was a shift in the portrayal of adult black characters, as blacks were portrayed as entertainers, sportsmen, professionals, businessmen, students, and clerks. In terms of television advertising, Culley and Bennett (1975) found that 10 percent of the 368 commercials analyzed contained black characters. However, out of 770 people coded, only 43 characters were black, among whom only one was shown as an executive, three as policemen, while 16 were children.

Zinkhan, Cox, and Hong (1986), exploring black stereotyping in magazine advertising, analyzed data collected from 274 issues of five magazines (*Life, Time, Ladies Home Journal, Saturday Evening Post* and *The New Yorker*) in 1983 and 1984. Their findings show that black roles and images have slowly changed in advertising. The percentage of advertisements containing blacks has significantly increased, but this percentage did not come close to the percentage of blacks in the population. Only 3.95% of the 6,920 ads examined contained black characters. They compare their numbers with previous studies which show that during 1949-1950 only .57% of the ads contained black characters, and during 1967-68 only 1.7% did the same (Zinkhan, Cox & Hong, 1986)

Zinkhan, Cox, and Hong (1986) further indicate that the portrayal of blacks in the United States has changed over the years. In the period of 1949-50 there were only 6.1% of blacks portrayed above the skilled labor category, while 80.9% of blacks were portrayed above the skilled labor category in 1983-84. He concludes that "differences still remain in the way that blacks and whites are portrayed in advertising; but these differences seem to be decreasing" (p. 572).

Wilkes and Valencia (1989), in their study of Hispanics and Blacks in advertising, analyze the frequency with which these two minority groups appear in television commercials. They found that the number of black characters in television commercials has steadily increased since 1965. The data included 63 hours of programming, from the three major networks (ABC, CBS, NBC), during the fall of 1984. Their results show that 63 hours of programming contained 904 commercials with live models. From these 904 characters, 240, or 26% of the total, were blacks. They conclude that "the proportion of blacks in television commercials with live models continues to increase; that this representation is more likely than not to be in racially-integrated scenes, but that blacks appear in commercials with larger number of persons than is typical in commercials in which no blacks are presented" (p. 24).

Zinkhan, Qualls, and Biswas (1990) tried to figure out if black representation in advertising had increased over time in various media. They analyzed 13,000 TV commercials and 205,000 magazines ads, and found that blacks were more often represented in television commercials than in print advertisements. The percentage of blacks in television ads rose from .57% in 1949 to 16.01% in 1986. For magazines, black representation was relatively low in 1978 (2.13%), but rose to 4.37% in 1986.

As most studies above show, the representation of African-Americans in advertising has increased in recent years. This increase can be attributed, at least in part, to the civil rights movement, and to the changing sociocultural norms.

On the other hand, very little research has been conducted about blacks in Brazilian advertising. However, research indicates that blacks are generally invisible on Brazilian television, and even when they do appear, they are portraying stereotypical roles (Leslie, 1992). Leslie (1992) states that, "As a rule, they (blacks) are distinguished by their absence from the bulk of Rede Globo's prime-time and later evening programs" (p. 4).

Tansay, Hyman, and Zinkhan (1990), in a content analysis of cultural themes in Brazilian and U.S. auto magazine advertisements, mention that the Brazilian and American cultures grow from very different roots, while the American culture is influenced by English Puritanism, the Brazilian culture is influenced by transferred Portuguese culture, dominated by the wealthy in their isolated plantation homes.

Based on the cultural differences between the two countries, Tansay, Hyman and Zinkhan (1990) selected two pairs of themes for an analysis of auto magazine ads: a) the urban theme and the wilderness theme, and b) the work theme and the leisure theme. Their findings show both differences and similarities between advertising in the two countries. First, Brazilian print ads tended to have more urban themes than those of the United States. Second, U.S. ads tended to have more leisure themes than the Brazilian ads. And third, the leisure theme was increasing in U.S. ads, while decreasing in Brazilian ads.

Tansey, Hyman, and Zinkhan (1990) also found that the work and wilderness settings appeared with equal frequency, which they consider unexpected and important. Unexpected because many historians and sociologists have speculated that the concepts of work and wilderness would have different

connotations within the two countries. And important, because it suggests that the world is moving toward cultural homogenization.

Cutler and Rajshekhar (1992) analyzed the visual components of print advertisements in the United States and the European Community. They stated that "National cultural differences are thought to influence advertising practices, and it is reasonable to presume that influences should be observable at the component level of individual ads" (p. 71). Similarly, Tansey, Hyman, and Zinkhan (1990); Cuttler, Javalgi, and Erramilli (1992); and Gilly (1988), base their studies on cultural differences between nations, and eventually show that these cultural differences are reflected in advertising.

The way people are portrayed in the media is important because, of the potential cultivation effects. For example, in the case of Brazilian television, Leslie (1994), found that "Brazilian television helps sustain the myth that in Brazil a racial democracy exists. . . . Thus, Brazilian television content may be a cultivator of modern racism in Brazil" (p. 12).

Given the research findings discussed above, and the fact that the United States and Brazil have different cultural identities, and the absence of civil rights legislation in Brazil, the following hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis One: The percentage of black characters in U.S. television advertising will be higher than the percentage of black characters on Brazilian television advertising.

Hypothesis Two: The percentage of black American characters portrayed as highly educated will be higher than the number of black Brazilian characters in this category.

Hypothesis Three: Television advertisements in the United States will portray more blacks in main roles than will ads in Brazil.

U.S. civil rights laws not only protect minorities against discrimination, they also protect women as well. Although the feminist and black movements are active in Brazil, their impact is not as great as similar movements in the United States. Therefore, Hypothesis Four is that television advertisements in the United States will contain a higher percentage of black female characters than will television ads in Brazil.

Method

This study uses television ads, broadcast on the main evening newscasts of major television networks in the two countries, to examine the portrayal of blacks in television advertising. The data were collected from television commercials during the evening news of the U.S. television network ABC, and three Brazilian networks: Record, Bandeirante, and Sistema Brasileiro de Televisao (SBT).

ABC was chosen because of its popularity and nationwide coverage. The Brazilian TV network chosen a priori was Rede Globo, which also has tremendous popularity and nationwide coverage. However, the U.S. satellite TV channel "SCOLA", from which the Brazilian data were collected, did not transmit Rede Globo's news, but carried newscasts, on an alternating basis, of three other television networks (Record, Bandeirante, and SBT). These Brazilian networks are also popular and have nationwide coverage, but their popularity is not as high as Rede Globo's.

The sample consists of two constructed weeks drawn from the period of March 5, 1993 to April 9, 1993. Ten days were selected randomly—Two Mondays, two Tuesdays, two Wednesdays, two Thursdays, and two Fridays. The weekends were excluded from the study because the Brazilian networks do not broadcast their evening news on the weekends.

The unit of analysis is black characters on commercials during the major evening newscast of the respective networks, except for network promos. Black characters are defined as people with dark colored skin who are of African heritage. To keep consistency in the study, black Americans and black Brazilian characters are similarly defined even though in Brazil a distinction is made between blacks and "mulattos". Two coders fluent both in Portuguese and English coded the ads with regard to the following variables: Nation of broadcast; Types of Products advertised; Race of Characters (Black/White); Black characters' Sex, Portrayal, and Age (the complete coding procedure is available from the authors). Intercoder reliability was lowest for the variables of Portrayal and Age—75 and 76 percent respectively. In cases of disagreements between the coders, the alternating selection process was used.

Findings

Ten days of evening news broadcasts from the two nations' networks amounted to eleven hours and forty-five minutes of news. ABC aired five hours of news, which includes one hour and twenty-five minutes of commercials. The Brazilian networks broadcast six hours and forty-five minutes of news, including two hours and fifteen minutes of commercials. This difference is due to the fact that Brazilian networks SBT and Record air 45 minutes of news daily with 12 minutes of commercials. ABC and Banderirante air 30 minutes of news with seven and one half minutes of commercials.

A total of 197 advertisements were analyzed—100 were broadcast on the Brazilian television networks and 97 on the U.S. network. A total of 512 characters were included in these ads, of which 256 were in Brazilian ads and 256 were in U.S. advertisements. Of these, 21 were Brazilian black characters and 28 were American black characters.

Basic Necessities was the type of products most advertised. Twenty-four percent of the Brazilian ads were for basic necessities, as were 44.3% of the U.S. ads. Financial services was the second most advertised product category by the networks of the two countries. Financial services ads accounted for 23% of all Brazilian ads, and for 4.1% of all U.S. ads. The high rate of inflation in Brazil forces the population to look for some form of financial security in order to protect its money from inflation. Consequently, financial organizations advertise their products in order to attract the consumers.

The third most advertised product or service was Political candidates. All 20 political ads were on the Brazilian networks. This is because during the sample period Brazil was going through a political campaign—which is a valid limitation of this study. Other major differences between the types of products advertised in the two nations were found in Educational/Cultural ads, which comprised 6% of the Brazilian ads, but only 1% of the U.S. ads; and Auto related products, which comprised 2% of the Brazilian ads and 16% of the U.S. ads. Nevertheless, no blacks were included in any ads of either country for Superfluous products, Leisure items, Construction, and Business products (See Table 1).

Table 1 about here

Hypothesis One states that the percentage of black American characters appearing in television advertisements is higher than the percentage of Brazilian black characters. There were 28 blacks appearing in U.S. ads making up 11% of the 256 characters, while 21 blacks, or 8% out of the 256 Brazilian characters, appeared in Brazilian ads. To analyze the differences between these frequencies a Z test for proportional differences was used. The results indicate that there is no significant difference between the percentage of black characters of the two

countries' advertisements ($Z = -0.3215$, $p > .05$). As such, hypothesis one is rejected.

Nevertheless, the African-American population constitutes 12% of the U.S. population. The results show that its representation in the sample commercials constitute 11% of the characters. This indicates that for this particular study, the black population is fairly proportionately represented. At the same time, the black Brazilian population accounted for 5.9%, and the "mulatto" population for 38.4% of the total Brazilian population (Instituto, 1987). Blacks and "mulattos" or brown together constitute 44.3% of the total Brazilian population, but they make up only 8% of the characters in the Brazilian commercials. In addition, the majority of black characters in Brazilian commercials appeared in political ads. They accounted for 71.0% of all the Brazilian black characters. If Brazil was not in the midst of a political election campaign, the black characters might have been less represented.

Hypotheses Two states that the percentage of highly educated black characters portrayed by the American television commercials will be higher than the percentage of highly educated black characters portrayed in Brazilian television commercials. Among the 21 black Brazilian characters, only one (or 5.0%) is portrayed as highly educated. For the U.S. ads, among the 28 black characters, 4 (or 14.0%) are portrayed as highly educated. To assess the differences in the professional identities of the black characters of the two countries, a Z test for proportional differences was used. The resulting Z score of -0.124 indicates that no significant difference exists, although the usefulness of this test is limited given such low frequencies. Nevertheless, hypotheses two is rejected ($Z = -.124$, $p > .05$).

A chi-square test used to test the relationship between the two nations' commercials and the professional portrayal of black characters results in a significant relationship [$X^2 = (5, N = 49) = 19.9$, $p < .02$]. The Brazilian ads depict

more blue collar black characters, while the U.S. ads include more students and more housewives (See Table 2).

Table 2 about here

Hypotheses Three deals with the roles played by black characters. The roles are divided into two categories, main and minor. Main black characters are those who lead, anchor or appear in a major part of the advertisement. Minor characters are those who are led, or are anchored by the main character; they usually enter the scene to show the product announced by the main character.

The hypothesis states that U.S. ads will portray more blacks in main roles than will television ads in Brazil. However, in the Brazilian advertisements black characters playing a main role amounted to two (out of 21). None of the 28 black characters in U.S. ads were presented in a main role. A Chi-square test reveals no significant relationship between these two variables [$X^2 = (1, \underline{N} = 49) = .8796, \underline{p} > .05$)], therefore, hypotheses three is rejected.

Hypotheses Four states that the percentage of black women depicting any characters in U.S. television commercials will be higher than the number of black women depicted in Brazilian commercials. In commercials of both countries, black male characters outnumber black female characters. U.S. television ads contain 12 black female characters, or 43% of all black characters, while Brazilian ads contain 8 black female characters, or 38% of all Brazilian black characters. A Chi-square test of the frequencies of gender differences in the two countries' ads does not result in a significant relationship [$X^2 = (1, \underline{N} = 49), = .000176, \underline{p} > .05$]. Therefore, hypotheses four is rejected (See Table 3).

Table 3 about here

Finally, an examination of the age of the black characters shows that for the Brazilian TV commercials, black Brazilian children and elderly people do not appear in any of the 21 ads containing black characters. Brazilian black teenagers accounted for 10% of all Brazilian black characters, Young Adults accounted for 38%, and Adults accounted for 52% of the Brazilian black characters.

For the U.S. advertisements, out of the 28 black characters analyzed, 9 (32%) were Children, 3 (11%) were black Teenagers, 7 (25%) were Young Adults, 7 (25%) were Adult, and 2 (7%) were Elderly black characters (See table 4). Brazilian ads tend to have more adult and young adult black characters, while U.S. television ads tend to include all age groups [$X^2 = (4, \underline{N} = 49) = 11.38, \underline{p} < .03$].

Table 4 here

Conclusion

Overall, the results of this study show that black people are more visible on commercials of U.S. television news programs than those of Brazil, but differences are not of extraordinary proportions. This representation of black characters in the United States is proportional to the U.S. black population, while in Brazil their representation falls far short of being proportional. U.S. television commercials include blacks from different age groups. In Brazil, black children and elderly characters do not appear in commercials.

Television advertisements of the two countries also differ along the lines of the professional portrayal of blacks. They do not differ much in the amount of female black characters included in the ads, nor in the roles blacks serve in

television commercials—they serve predominantly a minor role. This tends to reinforce findings from a 1970 study (Dominick & Greenberg, 1970).

On the whole, the results of this study show that there are not as many blacks as one would expect in television commercials, especially in Brazil, and when blacks are represented, they serve in minor roles. Generally, television ads in the main newscasts of major television networks of the two nations tend to reflect cultural and societal norms and practices.

REFERENCES

Bennett, L. (1965). *Confrontation: Black and white.* Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, Inc.

Culley, J. D. & Bennett, R. (1975). *The use of stereotypes in mass media advertising: Blacks in magazine, newspaper and television ads.* Paper Presented at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Advertising. Knoxville, Tennessee. (Eric Document Number ED 148320)

Cutler, B. D. & Javalgi, R. G. (1992). A cross-cultural analysis of the visual components of print advertising: The United States and the European Community. *Journal of Advertising Research, 32* (1), 71-80.

Cutler, B. D.; Javalgi, R. G. & Erramilli, M. K. (1992). The visual components of print advertising: A five-country cross-cultural Analysis. *European Journal of Marketing, 26* (4), 7-20.

Dominick, J. R. & Greenberg, B. S. (1970). Three seasons of Blacks on television. *Journal of Advertising Research, 2*, 21-27.

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica (IBGE). (1987). Pinad Pesquisa.

Kottak, P. C. (1990). *Prime time society: An anthropological analysis of television and culture.* Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth.

Leslie, M. (1992). Representation of blacks on prime time television in Brazil. *Howard Journal of Communications, 4*(1/2), pp. 1-9.

Leslie, M. (1994). The representation of blacks on commercial television in Brazil: Some cultivation effects. Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Convention.

Tansay, R., Hyman, M. R., & Zinkhan, M. G. (1990). Cultural themes in Brazilian and U.S. auto ads: A cross-cultural comparison. *Journal of Advertising,19* (2), 30-39.

Toledo, P. R. (1993, June). O Sonho do Mudar de Lugar no Pais [The dream of changing the country's place]. *Veja.*

Wagley, C. (1963). *An introduction to Brazil.* New York: Columbia University.

Wilkes, R. E. & Valencia, H. (1989). Hispanics and Blacks in television commercials. *Journal of Advertising, 18* (1), 19-25.

Wood, C. H. & Magno De Carvalho, J. A. (1988). *The demography of inequality in Brazil.* Cambridge: Cambridge University.

World Almanac. (1993). pp. 383/736.

Zinkhan, G. M.; Cox, K. K. & Hong, J. W. (1986). Changes in stereotypes: Black and white in magazines advertisements. *Journalism Quarterly, 63* (3), 586-72

Zinkhan, G. M.; Qualls, W.J. & Biswas, A. (1990). The use of blacks in magazine and television advertising: 1946 to 1986. *Journalism Quarterly, 67* (3), 547-553.

Table 1

Types of products advertised on Brazilian and U.S. Television News

	Brazil		United States			
Products	#	%	#	%	Total	%
Basic Necessities	24	24.0	43	44.3	67	34.0
Financial	23	23.0	4	4.1	27	13.7
Political	20	20.0	0	0.0	20	10.1
Cars/Auto equip.	2	2.0	16	16.5	18	9.1
Public	8	8.0	4	4.1	12	6.1
Home Electric Equip.	3	3.0	9	9.3	12	6.1
Construction*	6	6.0	5	5.2	11	5.6
Superfluous*	2	2.0	6	6.2	8	4.1
Educational/Cultural	6	6.0	1	1.0	7	3.6
Leisure*	2	2.0	3	3.1	5	2.5
Business products*	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	1.0
Other	3	3.0	5	5.2	8	4.1
Total	100	100%	97	100%	197	100.0

$X^2 = (11, N = 197) = 84.5, p < .0001$

*No black characters included in either nation's advertisements.

Table 2

The Professional Portrayal of black characters in the two Nations

	Brazil		U.S.A.			
Character	#	%	#	%	Total	%
Non working people	10	47.5	13	46.6	23	47.0
Blue collar	9	42.9	2	7.1	11	23.0
Students	0	0.0	6	21.4	6	12.0
Highly educated*	1	4.8	4	14.3	5	10.0
White collar	1	4.8	1	3.6	2	4.0
Housewives	0	0.0	2	7.1	2	4.0
Professional Athletes	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	21	100.0	28	100.0	49	100.0

$X^2 = (5, N = 49) = 13.9, p < .02$

*$Z = -1.24, p > .05$.

Table 3
Gender of the Black Characters

	Brazil		U.S.A.		Total	
Gender	#	%	#	%	#	%
Male	13	62.0	16	57.0	29	59.0
Female	8	38.0	12	43.0	20	41.0
Total	21	100.0	28	100.0	49	100.0

$X^2 = (1, N = 49) = .000179, p > .05$

Table 4

Black characters by age groups

	Brazil		U.S.A.			
Age Group	#	%	#	%	Total	%
Adult	11	52.0	7	25.0	18	37.0
Young Adults	8	38.0	7	25.0	15	31.0
Children	0	0.0	9	32.0	9	18.0
Teenager	2	10.0	3	11.0	5	10.0
Elderly	0	0.0	2	7.0	2	4.0
Total	21	100.0	28	100.0	49	100.0

$X^2 = (4, N = 49) = 11.38, p < .03$

Coding Procedure

The unit of analysis is characters portrayed on commercials during the major evening newscast of the American national TV network ABC, and three Brazilian national TV networks, except the network's own material.

In order to analyze the units, a coding procedure was developed, and is composed of 9 items:

I. Nation. Either U.S. Television (ABC), or Brazilian TV (Record, Bandeirante, and SBT).

III. Type of products advertised. The type of products advertised are classified into 12 categories:

1. Basic Necessities such ads include food, clothes, shoes, medicine, cleaning products, store networks (retail, outlet), etc.
2. Superfluous—beauty products, jewelry, watches, toys, etc.
3. Leisure—traveling packages, resorts, hotels, cruises and movies.
4. Home electronic equipment— including computers, TV sets, VCRs, Camcorders, Stereos, etc.
5. Educational/Cultural: books, schools, seminars, plays, movies.
6. Financial: include credit cards, banks, life insurance, or any organization which is related to money such as lottery.
7. Public ads: Ads presented by governmental sources (Army, Navy, etc.), and non-profit organizations (Red Cross, American Heart Association, etc.)
8. Auto related: cars, auto equipment, gas, etc.
9. Political advertisements: This type of advertisement includes ads for political campaigns.
10. Construction materials, real estate, etc.
11. Business products. Office furnitures, copiers and office machines.
12. Other. These are ads that cannot be classified in any of the categories above.

IV. Number of characters. The number of characters is the total number of people portraying any type of character in order to sell a product or organization. This does not include cartoons, and background people. People portraying any type of character are those with a speaking part, or, they are of primary or secondary interest in the voice over ad.

V. Number of black characters. This is the total number of black people portraying any type of character in order to sell or promote a product or organization. This item follows the same definition of item IV for people portraying any type of character.

VI. Black character role. This item is divided into two parts:
1. Main black characters. Are those who lead, anchor, or appear in the major part of the advertisement.
2. Minor characters. Those are the characters who are led or anchored by the main character. They usually appear in the scene to show the product announced by the main characters. They take a smaller part in the advertisement than the main characters, or are in support of the main characters.

VII. Sex of the Black characters—Male or Female.

VIII. Black character portrayal. This item is divided into seven categories:

1. Highly educated professionals. This type of characters include doctors, lawyers, teachers, business people, and other professionals.
2. White collar workers. These are characters with office related work (secretaries, telephone operators, etc.).
3. Blue collar workers. This type includes factory workers, cooks, maids, truck drivers, etc.
4. Others. These are characters whose profession is not clearly indicated.
5. Professional athletes. These are characters portrayed as skilled in exercise, or games requiring vigorous strength, agility, or stamina.

IX. Age groups of black characters. The black age group is divided into 5 different classes:

1. Children (up to 12 years old).
2. Teenager (from 13 to 19 years old).
3. Young adult (from 20 to 34 years old).
4. Adult (from 35 to 55 years old).
5. Elderly (over 55 years old).

MINORITIES IN THE NEWSROOM: THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS AND INTEGRATION
From "Separate But Equal" To "Justice as Fairness"

Orayb Najjar
Dept. of Communication
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Illinois
Tel: 815 753 7017
e-mail: onajjar@niu.edu

Paper presented to the Minorities and Communication Division,
The AEJMC 1995 Convention, Washington, D.C., August 8, 1995

Abstract

MINORITIES IN THE NEWSROOM: THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS (ASNE) AND INTEGRATION
From "Separate But Equal" To "Justice as Fairness"

This study traces the ASNE debate and action on the integration of minorities in the newsrooms of daily newspapers by examining the proceedings of ASNE's yearly convention between 1923-1994, and by interviewing ASNE Minority Committee members.

This study traces the issue of integration as it played against the backdrop of the Supreme Court's *Brown vs. Board of Education, 1954*, the Kerner Commission Report of 1968, the Civil Rights activism of the 1960s and 1970s, and the debate on multiculturalism and affirmative action in the 1980s and 1990s.

It concludes that while ASNE has not reached the lofty goal it had set for itself in 1978 of having the number of minorities reflect their percentage in the population by the year 2,000, the association has managed to register some progress because it had set goals for itself as well as a blueprint for implementing them.

Orayb Najjar
Dept. of Communication
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Illinois
Tel: 815 753 7017
e-mail: onajjar@niu.edu

Paper presented to the Minorities and Communication Division,
The AEJMC 1995 Convention, Washington, D.C., August 8, 1995

MINORITIES IN THE NEWSROOM: THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS AND INTEGRATION
From "Separate But Equal" To "Justice as Fairness"

Introduction[1]

"A most worthy undertaking," said a New Jersey editor.

"A lot of horse manure," sniffed a Texas member.

Both, along with 229 other editors around the country, were reacting to the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) board of directors' action in April 1971 authorizing a committee to explore and analyze the issue of minority employment in the newsroom.[1] A Report on the results of the study suggested that members of the Committee on Minority Employment deserve the ASNE equivalent of the Bronze Star for combat duty because, when they asked ASNE members about their hiring practices, they were subjected to denunciations for meddling and trouble-making as well as to personal slurs. But despite some "patent evasions," the study described the overwhelming number of responses editors sent as "serious, thoughtful and often painfully soul-searching."[2] More important, however, the study placed the matter of minority education, training, hiring, representation and coverage on the agenda of ASNE, the way *Brown vs. Board of Education (1954)*[3] placed the matter of school segregation and the question of integration on the national agenda, including ASNE's.

---

[1] *I would like to thank Graduate Assistant and law student Jeff Brecht for his valuable research assistance, and the anonymous reviewers of this paper for their useful comments.*

Purpose of this study

This study traces the debate and action by ASNE on the integration of minorities in the newsroom against the backdrop of the Supreme Court's *Brown vs. Board of Education, 1954*, the Civil Rights activism of the 1960s, and the debate on multiculturalism and affirmative action in the 1980s and 1990s.[4] This paper

a. presents the activities of ASNE as a case study of how members of a professional organization dealt with integration,

b. traces the progress ASNE has made since the 1950s in minority education, hiring, retention and coverage, and relates those changes to the role of institutions like the judiciary in helping minorities redefine justice from "separate but equal," to "justice as fairness," and to the role of professional organizations that adopt an institutional structure that facilitates change.[5]

c. shows how the changing power relations between African Americans (and later other minority groups) and white Americans led the editors to redefine the meaning of discrimination, integration and participation;

d. describes how minority members of ASNE as well as others involved in the struggle for integration have guided and/or reacted to ASNE's activities in ASNE's forums and committees.

Legal and Historical Background

The move from *Plessy (1896)* (which held that racial segregation in public facilities was constitutional),[6] to *Brown (1954)* (which held that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment forbids state officials to take action designed to segregate public schools on the basis of race), signalled the onset of the modern period in which the Supreme Court has been engaged in the elaboration and protection of certain basic political-moral principles, among them, freedom from racial discrimination, and "has served the American polity as an on-going, insistent moral revaluation and ultimately of moral growth."[7]

Eugene Rostow writes, for instance, that the Supreme Court teaches a "vital national seminar" by propounding conceptions of American identity.[8] Christopher Eisgruber notes that the Supreme Court may indeed conduct a "vital national seminar" although attendance is spotty and few students do the reading.[9] Mark Tushnet, however, suggests that often, the general public learns about controversial cases from the media and other opinion leaders who are more attentive to the Court's opinions and decisions than the general public. Tushnet writes that court style is socially located, like everything else, in that the Court's opinions educate by combining outcomes with memorable phrases that can be quoted by the media.[10]

Theoretical Framework

Peter Sederberg believes that all organized behavior depends upon shared meaning (mutually expected response). In that sense, one can talk about all organizations organizing the same thing: shared meaning. So whether organizations produce toasters, collect taxes, or wage war, they depend upon the structured responses of their members. Professional organizations like ASNE are no exception.[11] To get anything done, members need to have a common conception (shared meaning) of what their organization is all about, and they also need to organize their resources to achieve their common ends. It is necessary that organizations take on such a function, suggests Eisgruber, because developing good explanations takes time as well as genius. Time is scarce and people have other things to do besides proposing and evaluating explanations.[12]

Eisgruber suggests that, because of time, we form and defer to habits and institutions that take over the job of choosing between competing explanations and alleviate the need to analyze the merits of competing explanatory forms on a case-by-case basis. Such institutions also help us cope with changing circumstances. Eisgruber distinguishes between two kinds of explanations. The "contemplative" explanations that describe the identity of some group and help its members know who they are; and the "instrumental" explanations that help people choose among competing actions, guide planning, and so focus upon possible changes.[13]

Method

ASNE, established in 1922, grappled with changed race relations, first, by choosing between two competing contemplative explanations of what it means to be American: the first wedded to the status quo of the 1950s where democracy was applied only to whites; and the second committed to an integration that takes literally the assumption that "**all men** were created equal."[14] Second, by adopting an instrumental explanatory structure (i.e. a practical guide for action) to facilitate its members' planning for integrating their newsrooms, for choosing among competing actions and approaches, and for focusing their attention on possible changes editors need to undertake to make integration successful. Third, by using organizational resources to encourage the training and hiring of minorities.

In this paper, I use the concept of the role institutions as explanatory structures to examine how ASNE, guided by Supreme Court decisions, and later, by the Kerner Commission Report, developed a contemplative and an instrumental explanatory structure to facilitate integration. Every single issue of ASNE Proceedings of its yearly conference between 1923-1994 was examined. All the reports that discussed minority issues in various committees were photocopied and analyzed. The speeches of guests on civil rights and minority issues were also examined. The 1995 statistics on progress towards integration were obtained from ASNE's main office. Questions were mailed or faxed to 33 minority members of ASNE and to the 41 members of ASNE's

Minorities Committee.[15] Some members of the ASNE Minority Committees and minority members of ASNE were interviewed by phone.[16] The answers of those who responded are included at the end of the paper.

ASNE Editors and Integration

An examination of ASNE proceedings between 1923-1954 reveals that the subject of integrating minorities in the newsrooms was not on the agenda of ASNE in its early years. ASNE proceedings reported that the National Survey of Four-Year Colleges and Universities Offering Courses in Journalism (1941), conducted by the National Council on Professional Education in Journalism, found that of the 901 four-year institutions it covered, 542 of them offered instruction in journalism in 1939: 418 universities and colleges, 103 teachers colleges, and 21 Negro colleges.[17] The study did not give any detailed information about what the Negro colleges taught, the facilities they had, or the number of people they graduated. The subject was not seriously tackled until the *Brown v. Board of education (1954)* decision led ASNE to schedule a special program to discuss what the president of the Society, Malcolm MacDonald, described as "a controversial subject -desegregation" and "the problems of reporting and editing the news of the Supreme Court decision."[18] Although the ground rules set by MacDonald stipulated that panelists and audience members confine their remarks to the coverage of that decision, rather than to its wisdom or constitutionality,[19] editors insisted on debating those points. Harry Ayres, the editor of

Anniston Star, Alabama, who participated in that discussion called *Brown (1954)* "one of the most tragic things that has happened in interracial relations during my lifetime."[20] Ayres made several members, including some Southern ones, "literally shudder" when he said, among other things, that it would be difficult to raise the standard of education in Alabama to the national standards, while carrying "on our back at the same time an illiterate and sometimes vicious people."[21] Ayres also said that "Many Negroes are dirty, are unreliable, are liars."[22]

The old definition of the problem

For people like Ayres, who held the most extremist position at ASNE, there was a problem, "the Negro,"[23] and the solution did not lie with the Supreme Court's remedy of equalizing educational opportunity for all races, but with a man like himself, who said he was "trying to improve these people." During his 18 years on the State School Board, Ayres and fellow board members funded Black education in other states in order to avoid integration in their state. Ayres insisted that integration "cannot be done overnight."[24] But other editors who knew that the effects of imposed inequalities cannot be erased overnight realized they had a role to play in remedying the situation, and were more willing to change and learn. ASNE provided a forum for such learning.

The impetus for tackling race relations came after the publication on May 17, 1954, of the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Lenoir Chambers, Norfolk

Virginian-Pilot said he thought it was important that "more consideration, and more careful examination be given to the legal and constitutional questions than has been given, because we are now in the midst of a period of numerous suggestions and actions for legal solutions."[25]

Herbert Brucker, Hartford Courant saw the job of an editorial writer as a catalyst that causes chemical reactions but is not involved directly.[26] He wrote:

> The first obligation is to recognize what is happening and what is coming. ... Having recognized that it is going to happen, our job as catalysts is to help it happen as easily as possible and as smoothly as possible, then to follow the Supreme Court in its statement about all deliberate speed. Some of us will tend to be deliberate and some of us will tend toward speed. Nevertheless, all of us will be in motion.[27]

Brucker recognized that many white minds had to adjust to the fact that Negroes are human beings.[28]

To contain conflict, the raucous debates among editors were defined as a necessary part of democratic deliberations. Basil Walters, Knight Newspapers, said:

> It was good that some of these emotions exploded into the open. But it also was good that other members of the Southern press clarified the record to show that even in the same regions of the South there is a great division of opinion. This is democracy at work. It's rugged but it's the way we solve our problems in America, always moving forward in the development of a better way of life for all our citizens.[29]

Basil Walters projected an elevated view of the American identity as one in which issues like race were debated, [rather than one in which "niggers" were lynched], and in which people were interested in a better life for **all** Americans, at a time

when one had to stretch one's imagination to accept such a scenario. Lawyer Thurgood Marshall used the same tactic in his legal argument when he dispelled white anxieties about disorder and noted that he had "more confidence in the people of the South, white and colored, than the lawyers on the other side. I am convinced that they are just as lawful as anybody else, and once the law is laid down, that is all there is to it."[10] Both men were attempting to provide a new contemplative explanatory structure (an ideal) to which people could aspire. ASNE members were searching for a comforting contemplative explanatory structure to make dealing with the issue of integration easier. Said Sylvan Meyer:

> What we need is some sort of tactic, or strategy, and an underlying guiding principle of moderation to which we can refer the day-to-day problems that arise and that we are forced to comment on. ... we need ... something that we can hang on to that is basic and that is true.[11]

And later, he said:

> Our duty is to find the pace of change in our own communities, encourage good will, stress the responsibility of everyone to move slowly and thoughtfully, and at the same time avoid the sort of stalemates that force court cases for people who feel they are not making any progress at all toward their goal - which is to be American under the law like the rest of us.[12]

The words quoted above constitute evidence of the emergence of a new contemplative explanatory structure that located the problem with whites who needed to change their discriminatory beliefs and practices in order to live up to the tenets of democracy the country claimed it was. Unlike Ayres, who initially claimed he knew "the mind of the Negro"[13] James Wechsler, New

York Post, felt it was a mistake that editors were talking about Negroes, "when, as one of the panelists said, we really do not know what Negroes think."[14] Wechsler suggested that a society like ASNE ought to have in its ranks representatives of Negro newspapers so that "we are not talking about these people as if they were the outcasts and second-class citizens of our society."[15] Wechsler hoped before the next convention to sponsor the admission of at least some representatives of the Negro Press." ASNE President Kenneth MacDonald explained that ASNE does not discriminate against Negroes but the qualifications requiring members to be editors of a daily newspaper excludes them because there was not more than one daily newspaper in the country with a Negro editor, and that no one had applied to ASNE.[17]

Good Intentions are not enough:

The search for a new instrumental explanatory structure

Despite the good intentions of some of ASNE members, ASNE proceedings show that very little progress took place in minority hiring in the 1950s and 1960s mainly because the organization called on its members to integrate their newsrooms, but had no specific instrumental explanatory structure or practical blueprint for action for them to follow. Furthermore, the sense of urgency appeared to be on the wane, not just in journalism, but in the rest of the country. The nation's priorities shifted from a concern for civil rights in the mid-fifties and early sixties, to a concern with ending the war in Vietnam and a return

to "law and order." Thus, organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) had to survive in a hostile climate. While Blacks asked them to deliver on their promises, the organizations faced an unsympathetic president Nixon and white public opinion that believed that enough had been done for Blacks.[38] Black leaders responded to that mood with anger. Black critics of the media became less accepting of excuses and more challenging of lapses in mainstream coverage of Blacks. Attorney Floyd McKissick, a graduate of the University of North Carolina Law School where he was the first Black man ever registered,[39] chided his audience at ASNE's 1967 convention for being fixated on the words "Black Power," and for failing to report on the Congress of Racial Equality's (CORE) warnings of brewing signs of trouble. He encouraged editors to examine CORE's programs so that Blacks would be known by their constructive programs.[40] McKissick said there are two kinds of statements a Black man can make and expect that the white press will report. The first is "to use his tongue as a switchblade" and attack another Black man, and the second is to make violent radical statements "the verbal equivalent of a riot - Watts put into words."[41] He asked how many report in newspaper social columns what middle-class Negroes do and added "we like news clippings too for our scrapbooks."[42] Mckissick invited his audience to visit the ghetto with hosts to "Talk, listen, watch. Get it straight and

undiluted. Come as a guest and as a friend."[43] He predicted that on visiting the ghetto, editors would recognize there a broad awareness that

> the civil rights movement, the first phase of it, is over- is dead. We won the battle of the abstracts, the battle of moral principles, the battle of words. We won it on the battlefields of the South, on the picket lines, by sit-ins and marches and protests. We won it because litigation and the courts and the white man's legal system produced nothing but delay - no results, only more hypocrisy.[44]

But even though McKissick was right about the Court's slow pace, some legal scholars note that *Brown*, despite its shortcomings, produced a model for the "institutional reform litigation" that has spread into other areas such as prison and welfare law.[45]

The Presidential Commission on Civil Disorders, [the Kerner Commission Report] and ASNE

When Black America revolted, demonstrated and rioted in the Summer of 1967, President Lyndon Johnson on July 28, 1967 established a commission and directed it to answer three basic questions: What Happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again? The Kerner Report of 1968 concluded that the United States was moving toward two societies, one Black, one white - separate and unequal. The report examined various areas of concern, including journalism, and echoed the complaints made by McKissick when it noted that:

> The journalistic Profession has been shockingly backward in seeking out, hiring, training and promoting Negroes. Fewer than 5 percent of the people employed by the news business in editorial jobs in the United States today are Negroes. Fewer than 1 percent of editors and supervisors are Negroes, and most of them work for Negro-owned organizations.[46]

The commission said claims that "no qualified Negroes" could be found rang hollow in an industry in which "only yesterday jobs were scarce and promotion unthinkable for a man whose skin was black ... and there is only one Negro newsman with a nationally syndicated column."[47] The Kerner Commission also defined the problem as one of democratic participation when it noted that the full integration of the Negro into the journalistic profession is imperative in its own right because,

> It is unacceptable that the press, itself the beneficiary of fundamental constitutional protection, should lag so far behind other fields in giving effect to the fundamental human right to equality of opportunity.[48]

The report suggested that tokenism was no longer enough, but that newspapers employ enough Negroes in positions of significant responsibility to meet legitimate employment expectations, and to establish an effective link to Negro actions and ideas.[49]

Minority Coverage

The Kerner report noted the admission of editors that they had almost nonexistent lines of communication to the Black militants,[50] and added that

> Along with the country as a whole, the press has too long basked in a white world, looking out of it, if at all, with white men's eyes and a white perspective. That is no longer good enough.[51]

The Kerner Commission noted that the press refers to Negroes and Negro problems as if Negroes are not a part of the audience.[52] Furthermore, many urban editors lack reliable sources to cover significant urban stories or recognize them as such.[53] The commission recommended that the American media

endeavor "simply to treat ordinary news about Negroes as news of other groups is now treated, ... from the news, society and club pages to the comic strips."[54]

But as white institutions were slowly coming round to the necessity of diversity, members of the Black community were getting tired of waiting for reform and were in a segregationist mood.[55] One Midwestern editor said when he approached Black community spokesmen he was rebuffed, "They say they will lose credibility with their constituents if they work, even as columnists, on the editorial page for the 'white, establishment press.'"[56]

Perhaps as an aftermath of the revolt of Blacks and the harsh words the Kerner Commission had for the press in 1968, the 1969-72 period was characterized as a period where "a sense of urgency" was felt among editors.[57]

In 1970, the Education for Journalism Committee addressed itself to steps it might take to attract more Blacks to journalism careers because editors were beginning to realize that they needed to stop "the vicious circle of pirating the relatively few black newsmen from each other."[58] Some members of the committee visited predominantly Black colleges under the Editor-in-Residence program. Others sponsored five "Urban Journalism Workshops" in 1970, and planned 12 more for the summer of 1971 to expose Blacks and others to newspapers to attract them to journalism careers.[59] ASNE recognized that high schools were important as the "seedbed for all professions."[60] Black

enrollment in journalism has been holding steady, but a majority of those enrolled appeared to lean toward careers in television and radio. Both the high visibility of television and the better salary scale has attracted Black journalism students to that field. Government agencies were also recruiting away Black editors.[61]

In 1972, the Personnel Committee of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association tried to ascertain the extent of journalism education and interest in 113 Negro colleges. It received only 24 responses and concluded that journalism in Negro college now lags at the bottom of the list of priorities because it has little appeal to donors, and perhaps because Negro colleges feel their graduates can have better career opportunities in other fields. The committee also concluded that the negative image of journalism keeps Black students away, but the fact that Black colleges have had few trained journalism teachers also contributes to the shortage. After the goal of increasing the number of Blacks in journalism employment was placed on the agenda, the discussion centered on "the [q]uality" and [a]vailability" of blacks. Some editors who were anxious to hire blacks wondered whether it could be done without the lowering of standards. Blacks saw the standards issue as an "evasion."[62] Media critic Ben Bagdikian, writing about the dispute between newspaper management and seven Black reporters of The Washington Post, reminded editors that all organizations, including the Post, take chances on individuals who don't meet

formal standards:

> So chances are taken regularly and much is forgiven ... because the hiring editor wants to be proven right in his hunch, and in-house training might add competence the person originally lacked. There are all kinds of 'qualified' characteristics in the bizarre business of journalism."[63]

Bagdikian encouraged editors to take the same type of risks with Black reporters they had always taken with promising white reporters. Minority Employment chairman, Norman Isaacs, noted that where the top managers have been given strong employment direction, the number of minority employed has been significant. He noted that while the report finds no evidence of backlash, his committee felt that where managements have not pushed the issue, subeditors "are coasting and tending to employ, as human beings so often do, in their own images."[64]

The Committee on Minority Employment effort sent a fact-finding survey to 252 papers covering major newspapers and most of the middle-sized newspapers in the country. The 231 answers it received revealed that "the statistics are more unfavorable to the newspaper image than any previously used."[65] Members of what was defined as "the standard minority groups (Negroes, Mexican-American, Puerto-Ricans, Indians, Cubans and those of Oriental descent) number only 50." The report commented that even after adjusting the figure to account for those employed by smaller newspapers not yet reached by the survey, the total professional figure nationally may reasonably be estimated at approximately 300-or three-fourth of 1 percent of the total writer-photographer-editor employment.[66] Despite these disappointing

numbers, the very fact that ASNE had adopted the goal of increasing minority employment led to cooperation with the Committee on Education for Journalism, and later, with other committees and organizations.[67]

But the 1973 Minority Employment Committee Report admitted that what was missing was the sense of urgency expressed in the 1969-72 period. "Editors today report no minority pressures being voiced and they are taking their time in recruitment, reviewing more carefully and moving much more deliberately."[68] In 1974, minority employment on news staffs had edged upward at a barely measurable rate. The lack of progress "has made some editors hypersensitive to the point they ignore queries from fellow editors; others express frustration."[69] While several editors spoke up against quotas in hiring, John Aronson of The Antioch Review suggested that editors abandon the "qualification" standard which is rarely raised when a bright, talented untutored white youngster comes along and editors are challenged to take a chance. He admitted that while professional standards had obviously changed from the days when many a no-degree Italian, Jew and Irish developed into the best-known bylines in the newspaper industry, fellow editors need to take more chances with on-the-job training of minorities.[70]

The 1974 Minority Employment Report urged editors to accept their share of the blame and pay more attention to the educational standards of local schools and conduct regular, determined examinations of the high school counseling systems to

make sure untrained, ill-informed advisors are not poor-mouthing journalism as a desirable career. The report saw little evidence that this advice of more involvement in the schools was being heeded.[71]

"Don't Steal my Black Reporter"

The mood in the search for and the retention of Black reporters was captured in the subtitle of one of the ASNE articles on the subject: "Don't Steal My Black Reporter."[72] Said an editor who called himself "A Fighting Midwesterner":

> We are robbed blind by the fat-cat slobs who are too uppity to do their own training, but just take a bead on the ones we've gathered in and trained and use their pocketbooks to seduce 'em. We can't blame the kids, but my respect for the lazy big shots is really low.[73]

A Western editor noted in the 1974 report that the pressure to employ minority staffers has dropped somewhat, although the pressure to hire women has increased.[74]

The constant exhortation to hire more minorities made those who were unsuccessful at it uneasy, said one editor:

> Like most editors I feel damned self-conscious spouting nondiscrimination platitudes without having a minority editorial employee other than one female Mexican-American.[75]

The "Year 2000 Goal"

On the tenth anniversary of the appearance of the Kerner Report of 1978, ASNE responded by testing whether the Commission's challenge was being met by polling 495 editors. Only 100 editors responded, and many admitted that their own performance did not rise up to the challenge.[76] One editor was writing for many when he said:

> I wish I could write that our newspaper has made sweeping improvements in its coverage of minority groups. Unfortunately, I can't. We cover the official black events - NAACP meetings, black speakers, Negro History Week ... but we have not expanded our coverage of the black community and racial problems.[77]

In 1978, the Committee On Minorities recommended a rekindling of the commitment to recruit, train and hire minorities. It suggested that there be an annual accounting by ASNE of minority employment, including not just total jobs but types of positions held, with special emphasis on hiring executives; that smaller papers be encouraged to add minority members; and, at the urging of leaders among minority journalists, that ASNE set a goal of minority employment by the year 2000 equivalent to the percentage of minority population.[78] This commitment referred to as the "Year 2000" goal was the first instrumental explanatory structure or blueprint ASNE established to encourage its members to take the training and hiring of minorities seriously. To push the minority employment goal adopted by ASNE, the Institute for Journalism Education established the Job Net Referral Service in 1979 to connect minority journalists with newspapers that had job openings. ASNE cooperated with the Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ), which endorsed the ASNE minority employment goal and called on journalism schools and journalism educators to help newspapers achieve it.[79]

ASNE noted that progress is apparent if one compares the 1968 data of the Kerner Commission to 1978 statistics. There were 400 minority journalists in 1968, and 1,700 in 1978.[80] The ASNE

foundation (established in 1979) created an endowment of $100,000 to help fund ASNE's scholarship program for minority students entering college. In 1988, ASNE awarded 44 such scholarships.[81] The increased rate of Black employment was most pronounced in newspapers with a circulation of over 100,000, and continues to be the case today (see Table F).

In the 1980s, calls were heard for "finding if not 'qualified,' then 'qualifiable' minorities."[82] That call signalled a shift in thinking that allowed a change of strategy in the way ASNE hoped to get minority journalists. ASNE also identified placing minority persons in management positions as an urgent need and considered it a major theme of committee discussions during the year 1981.[83] Nancy Hicks, president, Institute for Journalism Education advised, people who want minority faces in their newsroom to hire an editor instead of a reporter because the former will be able to find lots of minority reporters.[84] The participants also gave examples of strategies of hiring that worked. The reason for their success was identified as cooperation between educators, hometown minority students, and newspapers.[85]

Coverage of minority affairs remains a problem. Even though ASNE came up with some guidelines for covering minorities,[86] a review of several months of coverage and several hundred clips of 1980 "was often like rereading reports of 20 years ago. They spoke of the anger of black Americans, their pessimism, ... and a growing distrust of whites they once considered allies in

struggles for fair and equal treatment."[87]

ASNE Proceedings of 1981 echoed the Kerner Report of 1978 when it provided a contemplative structure that defined the integration of minorities into newsrooms as part of a large American project that reflects what America stands for. It noted that

> the effort to desegregate the newsrooms of the nation's daily press must be regarded as part of the larger effort to assure that the daily newspaper is a vital compelling source of information for the whole public of democracy.[88]

The five Media-Minorities conferences held at five universities in 1981 emphasized introducing minority journalists to editors. The project was described as "the kind of exchange that more editors need to be exposed to. It has a significant influence over your perspective and raises the degree of awareness of the real need to pursue minority journalists."[89]

During its fifth year, the Committee on Minorities of ASNE conducted the most extensive examination of the progress that has been made to integrate the staffs of daily newspapers. It concluded that while substantial progress has been made, the rate of progress has declined consistently and increasingly during each of the last five years, "the very years in which the most sustained and broad-based push has been made."[90] Blacks have fared less well than other minority groups during those five years.[91] The noteworthy contribution the 1982 summary of findings of the Report by the ASNE Committee on Minorities was its refusal to get bogged down into the debate of why the supply of minority journalists was low when it wrote: "This debate must

stop. It is grounded primarily in defensiveness and an all-too-obvious desire to place responsibility for unsatisfactory progress squarely on the doorstop of the other side."[92] The society declared that the board of ASNE will assist in providing member editors with practical assistance in the form of resource information on effective minority hiring and promotion practices.[93]

In 1982, ASNE recognized the diversity that exists within different minority groups. The Committee on Minorities sponsored, in cooperation with the California Chicano News Media Association, the first national conference on Hispanics and daily newspapers.[94] The 1982 report mentioned that when the Kerner Commission spotlighted the failure of newspapers to employ and report on nonwhite Americans, its attention was focused on Blacks. Now the industry was also interested in people known as "Hispanics or Latinos. Their heritage may be Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or one of the many countries of Central and South America. Hispanic journalists were committed to assisting newspapers in their efforts to improve coverage of the Hispanic Community. They suggested that as a starting point for permanent change, regions with substantial Hispanic populations should prepare all their students to cover Hispanic affairs through changes introduced in the press as well as in schools of journalism.[95] The National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) has been pushing for more Hispanic activism that lets editors know that the Hispanic population is the fastest growing

one in the county, and that its needs should be taken into account. Members of NAHJ admit that the example of African American activism has taught them that only by pushing for inclusion will any minority group be heard.[96]

But inclusion did not always happen smoothly. The 1982 report acknowledged that there were tensions in the newsroom. Whites, Blacks and Hispanics told of tensions among employees based on race. Some talked of people "grating against each other" in general, and identified perceptions of discrimination as the major sources of these problems in the very editors who work most frequently and most closely with minority staffers.[97]
ASNE attempted to decrease ethnic tensions by giving editors the tools with which to deal with charged situations. In 1985, a panel discussion on "How to (and How Not to) Recruit Minorities" assembled minority journalists who, with wit and humor, gave editors tips on how to avoid mistakes in hiring, as well as after the hire. Mervin Aubespin, special assistant to the executive editor, Louisville, (KY.) Courier Journal and Times, and president of the National Association of Black Journalists said that when he looks at the ASNE annual minority employment report, he sees that something is wrong. Aubespin does not buy the concept that there are few "qualified Blacks" looking for jobs, especially when he has at his desk 132 resumes of young Black journalists. He urged members to take that talent and develop it.[98] Another piece of advice Aubespin dispensed at that meeting was:

> When you hire minorities and put us in the newsroom, please include us in everything. ... Numerous people at NABJ tell me that it is only when they decide to move to another operation that raises are found, promotions promised, and new beats suggested. If you make those raises available before they consider leaving, you might find that they are not going to go anywhere at all. It is surprising and insulting that when we tell you that we have accepted another position, you can find every way in the world to accommodate us.[99]

The activism of people like Aubespin signals a shift of expertise of the instrumental structure or blueprint for action from one run solely by whites in the early years when not a single African American was a member of ASNE, to one that actively relies on the expertise of minorities to assess where the organization can improve its performance. Speakers at various ASNE conferences who had successfully recruited minorities told listeners that finding and developing minority talent is not a great mystery. What it takes, said David Hawpe, Editor, The Courier-Journal, Louisville, KY, and member of the ASNE Minorities Committee, "is an attitude that says it not only can be done and will be done, but also says, 'I am going to do whatever is necessary to get it done.'"[100] Hawpe enumerated the type of questions he gets, such as: Where do you get your minority employees? (his answer: from various educational backgrounds, "Yale, John Hopkins, Harvard, ... and Tuskegee,"). What kinds of backgrounds do they come from? ("a naval captain, a neurosurgeon, ... a cleaning lady,") and where do they live? ("Appaloosas, La. ... Washington, D.C."). Hawpe gave those examples to illustrate that minorities are not as hard to find as people claim, but he stressed the importance of commitment at the top.[101] A 1987 workshop run by minorities

stressed the issue of retaining minorities and highlighted the need for a "blueprint for action a mid-course correction," as Ira Jane Hadnot, vice president for administration of the Institute for Journalism Education put it, because the present pace of hiring was unlikely to fulfill the "year 2000" goal.[102] ASNE, along with the Freedom Forum, created a Black College Task force that included a number of editors and educators who believe that improving programs at Black colleges might lead to more and better-trained minorities for the nation's newsrooms.[103] Goals of the task force include: a thorough evaluation of Black College and University programs; increased support for them; stronger links between them and many of the newsrooms; and more opportunities for faculty and students to gain newsroom experience.[104]

ASNE's 1992 Convention discussed the issue of Multiculturalism. One speaker attacked some Afro-centrists for their rendition of Black history in North Africa, while another speaker said "cultural diversity" is misnamed and should be called "cultural inclusiveness" because the task facing colleges is not only to increase the numbers of minorities, but the delicate question of how to simultaneously celebrate diversity, and at the same time create a culture unified enough that it can engage in civil polity. So the challenge was defined not as one of simple assimilation, but as one of integration.[105] The same speaker, Joseph O'Connor, Professor of Classics at Georgetown University, said that the cultural changes being introduced are a

logical consequence of the success of the civil rights movement to insist on diverse representation in any future definition of what America is all about as a culture. He said that because institutions are now negotiating about culture, rather than numbers, the challenges are not challenges of assimilation, but challenges of integration. He added that the melting pot metaphor is being replaced by the tossed salad metaphor which implied "a coherence that is achieved by allowing each component, or ingredient, to preserve its own distinctive flavor and texture, while enhancing and invigorating the whole."[106]

Black Women in the Newsroom

Members of the Education for Journalism Committee in 1987 along with the board of ASNE and the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) called attention to the lack of minority and female participation in journalism.[107] The Committee on news and Editorial Education (CONEE) decided to concentrate on Standard 12 of the Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, which calls for fair representation of minorities and females on journalism school faculties. Several members urged ASNE to give the attention it gave to the council's liberal arts standard to Standard 12. The ASNE board of directors backed up the efforts of the committee and adopted a resolution spelling out its increased commitment to the goal of raising the level of employment of minorities and women in the newsroom,[108] and commended the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass

Communications (ACEJMC) for actively recruiting minorities and women faculty and students for journalism education programs, and urged them "to constantly monitor and strictly enforce the spirit and letter of Standard 12."[109] Six of the 33 minority members of ASNE are Black women. Robert McGruder notes that the status of all women in America's newsrooms has improved. At the *Detroit Free Press*, where he is managing editor, women hold the positions of deputy managing editor, city editor, nation/world editor, graphics director, deputy city editor and deputy photo editor.

> Are we satisfied? No. There is little problem for women seeking entry-level jobs, but they are not getting their proportionate share of jobs in top management and in areas involving heavy use of computers. Training is part of the solution, but sexism still seems to be afoot.[110]

Progress Report

Despite various well-founded complaints by the Minorities Committee about the pace of change, there is some progress in the situation of integrating minorities in the newsroom at least in terms of numbers. The American Society of Newspaper Editors announced in its 1995 newsroom employment survey that:[111]

* There are 2,967 Black journalists (5.51 of the total work force), 1,667 Hispanics (3.10 percent), 1,044 Asian Americans (1.94 percent) and 196 Native Americas (0.36 percent).
* The total newsroom work force in 1995 was 53,800, up slightly from 53,700 in 1994. Minorities added to the work force accounted for all the gain as their numbers rose from 5,600 in 1994, to 5,900 in 1995 (see Table A).
* The number of minority journalists rose from 3.95 percent of the work force in 1978 to 10.91 percent in 1995 (Table A).
* While the percentage of the distribution of whites working as reporters dropped from 54% in 1978 to 47% in 1995, the percentage of distribution of minorities working as reporters has also dropped from 67% in 1978 to 52% in 1995. The percentage of photographers has remained constant for whites and minorities for the years 1978 and 1995 (Table B).

* For the first time since 1988, the survey reported a decline in the percentage of interns and first time hires who were minorities. In 1995, 21 percent of new full-time hires were minorities, compared with 24.4 percent in 1994 (see Table E). Among newsroom interns hired, 36 percent were minorities in 1995 (down from 38.7 percent in 1994) (see Table D).
* There have been slow but steady gains in the proportion of minorities who are supervisors. Eighteen percent of the minorities were employed as supervisors, according to the 1995 survey, compared with 4 percent in 1978 (See Table B). White supervisors constitute 91.8 percent of the work force in 1995, while minority supervisors constitute 8.2 percent (see Table C).
* Small newspapers have always had trouble recruiting and retaining minorities. Table E shows that 17.3 percent of the newsroom work force of the largest newspapers (over 500,000 circulation) were minorities in 1995.

Where things stand now

Mervin Aubespin, Chairman of the 1995-96 Human Resources Committee and the former Chairman of the Minorities Committee, says the same issues that faced the industry ten years ago--employment, retention, and promotion, still face it today. The figures "are not as bad as they were, but they have a long way to go to be even good. There are still double standards, but we have come a long way in ASNE, in just changing attitudes."[112] Most of the members of the Minorities Committee and minorities who are members of ASNE realize that the reasons for not having more minorities in newspapers are complex. Don Wycliff, Editorial Page Editor, *Chicago Tribune*, Minority member of ASNE, and also a member of the Writing Awards Committee, says problems of recruitment can be attributed, in part, to the fact that there are fewer Black kids going to college these days. Kids don't write as well as they used to do. There is a lot more remediation going on at all levels. Black kids need sterling credentials.

They need to be and have always needed to be, better than their white counterparts to get ahead."[113] Al Johnson, Executive Editor of *The Ledger-Enquirer*, Columbus, Georgia, who is also on the board of directors of ASNE, explains that there are fewer newspaper jobs available these days because of cutbacks on staff.[114] Douglas Clifton, Member of ASNE Minorities Committee and Executive Editor of *The Miami Herald*, observes that the problems facing minority journalists today are the same ones facing all journalists:

> The need to be flexible and open to new ideas, the capacity to welcome and adapt to change, the need to master a wider range of skills, computer, electronic, graphic.[115]

Robert McGruder believes that "newspapers are turning over the same people, sometimes to the detriment of the people involved, that retention has become as big an issue as recruiting."[116] John X. Miller, Executive Editor of *The Reporter*, and Minority Member of ASNE who has been on the Small Newspaper Committee agreed that retaining those minority people who are successfully recruited is the problem.[117]

Monica Lozano, who is also on the board of directors of ASNE, says that some minorities have a real reluctance to go to small newspapers to work because of the pay issue and the lifestyle issue, and because they have the impression that their learning opportunities will be limited as will their opportunities to move on to other higher-level jobs.[118] John X Miller believes newspapers need to better train managers and editors to manage their people. This is because minority people,

much of the time, become disillusioned because their talents are not fully realized or utilized.[119]

While most respondents agreed that the "Year 2000" goal may not have been realistic, most found it necessary. Said Robert McGruder, Managing Editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, "Better to have a lofty goal and miss, though, and take a few lumps for missing, than to set an easy goal, make it and not really effect any change." [120] Said Douglas Clifton, Executive Editor of *The Miami Herald*, "Absent a lofty goal, there would have been less effort to achieve it."[121]

Bernard Caughey, Associate Editor of the Patriot Ledger, Quincey, Maryland, and member of ASNE Minorities Committee from its beginning, says that even though the "Year 2000" goal was not realistic, and even though many tried to revise it downward, the committee resisted because a revision would send a message to papers that they did not have to work as hard, or that the goal was not as important.[122] Karen Wada, Assistant Managing Editor, *LA Times*, finds attachment to such a goal important because,

> you need to set a goal beyond what you could see, you need to put a bit of a discomfort level, not taking one of each, we are talking about 'the world has changed.' You say, in a community like California, Hispanics will one day be a majority. Need to keep an eye on that in the newsroom.[123]

Wada, who is of Japanese origin, says that one of the most important issues is how journalists can help cover and represent racial, gender, sexual minorities better, how they can increase diversity in newsrooms, and how to overcome institutional inertia and hire minorities as foreign correspondents, managers as well

as movie reviewers-- "the plum jobs."[124] Charles Johnson, Minority Member of ASNE, and Managing Editor of *The Rockford Register Star,* believes the "Year 2000" goal was "laudable, but it is just unfortunate that we fell prey to celebrating gradual advances rather than a revolutionary jump which is what we really need in this area." Johnson believes that ASNE "must sprint toward the wire. At a time when the rhetoric in the country is counter to that goal, we must focus seriously on doing all we can. But I doubt seriously that the goal is within reach."[125]

Gilbert Bailon, Assistant Managing editor, *The Morning News,* Dallas, and President of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, is concerned that minorities are not adequately covered. Whether people realize it or not, he says, everyone has different biases. At present, says Bailon,

> it is still the case that white men are determining what news is and what is important. That is one point of view, but not the only one. Several political issues of importance to minorities, such as affirmative action, are not covered well or in depth. I am hearing the poles of both arguments for or against, but I am not hearing a discussion of how people-- moms on welfare, undocumented immigrants, the unemployed, beneficiaries of affirmative action are affected by it.[126]

These topics may not ring true to white editors because they are outside the scope of their experiences. What is true of political issues is also true of cultural issues and entertainment, and so such editors may not have the drive to assign someone to cover those issues.[127]

Conclusion

When the subject of minorities in the newsroom was first brought up as a response to the 1954 Supreme Court Decision, there were no minority members in ASNE, and there was only one Black person with his own nationally syndicated column. But as power relations between white Americans and minorities changed when minorities revolted in the 1960 and the Supreme Court and the executive branch of government reacted to their grievances, professional organizations, including ASNE, were called upon to do their part to train and hire minorities. Those efforts started paying off only when ASNE adopted an instrumental structure, a blueprint to guide its members as they tried to integrate their newsrooms. ASNE has recently declared proudly that "it is one of the most aggressive and successful in increasing the number of minorities in its profession,' based on survey results that also show that while the numbers of ASNE's minority recruitment efforts may seem small, they are greater than efforts undertaken by large professional organizations such as the American Banking Association (see table H).[128]

Integration was first defined in numerical terms as inclusion, coverage was first defined as inclusion in all parts of the paper, including the comic strips, and participation was defined as inclusion in the job market, including positions of power. But as more minorities joined newsrooms and became members of the minorities committees, these definitions were refined. Integration was talked about increasingly in terms of preserving

diversity and enriching society through it. Good coverage was redefined not just in terms of inclusion in various sections, but also in terms of the all-important issue of defining what is news in the first place. Participation was redefined as participation in hiring and in determining priorities, such as targeting historically Black colleges. Successful inclusion was redefined not only as hiring but as retention. Such redefinition does not mean that minorities have achieved all of their aims. As the 1991 Minorities Committee Report concluded, "It is important that we not confuse persistence of effort with consistency of results."[129] But this redefinition indicates that ASNE is on the right track.

Implications for Research

Many opponents of Affirmative Action downplay the type of results it produces. This case study suggests that, if done properly, Affirmative Action can serve professional organizations well. Institutions that adopt contemplative and explanatory structures that push for change have a better chance of achieving it than institutions that rely solely on good will. More research could be undertaken on other professional media organizations for comparative purposes. More research also needs to be done on the resources of traditionally Black colleges. It is surprising that ASNE and later, The Freedom Forum, took so long to target Black colleges as a way of improving journalism education and providing the media with a pool of qualified applicants.

When the issue of integration came up at the ASNE 1956

convention, Lenoir Chambers, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, anticipating heated discussion among ASNE members, borrowed the words of Antarctic explorer Robert Scott when he said that "these few notes and our dead bodies will have to tell the tale" of the aftermath of the discussions on integration.[130] A survey of the 1995 journalistic scene reveals more integrated offices that the all-white offices of 1956, and a recognition among editors that diversity enriches the newsroom.

A careful observer will note that many newsrooms are littered with notes, as Lenoir Chambers had predicted, but that there are no dead bodies to tell the tale of integration.

NOTES

1. *A Joint Report from the Committees on Minority Employment and Education for Journalism,* **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1972, p. 233.

2. *Ibid.*

3. **Brown v. Board of Education**, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

4. The term "minorities" in the 1960s and even in the Kerner Report of 1968 was used to refer mostly to African Americans. The Minorities Committee Report said in 1985 that that year was the first since 1982 that the committee asked newspapers to indicate specific minority groups. The 1985 figures showed that 3.1 percent of the estimated 3,080 minorities were American Indians; 13.7 were Asian Americans; 57.2 percent were Blacks; and 26 percent Hispanics. *Report of the Minorities Committee,* **Proceeding of the American Society of Newspapers Editors**, 1985, p. 230.

5. Philosopher John Rawls explains "justice as fairness" as beginning "with the idea that where common principles are necessary and to everyone's advantage, they are to be worked out from the viewpoint of a suitably defined initial situation of equality in which each person is fairly represented." John Rawls, **A Theory of Justice**. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971, p. 221.

6. **Plessy v. Ferguson,** 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

7. Michael Perry. **The Constitution, the Courts, and Human Rights: An Inquiry into the Legitimacy of Constitutional Policy Making by the Judiciary**. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, pp. 163, 146.

8. Quoted by Christopher L. Eisgruber, *Is the Supreme Court an Educative Institution?,* 67 **N.Y.U. L. Rev.** 961 (1992), p. 15. Original is in, *The Democratic Character of Judicial Review,* **66 Harv. L. Rev. 193, 208** (1952).

9. Eisgruber, p. 27.

10. Mark Tushnet, *Style and the Supreme Court's Educational Role in Government,* 11 **Const. Comment** 215 (1994), p. 4.

11. Peter Sederberg. **The Politics of Meaning**. Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1984, pp. 130, 131.

12. Eisgruber, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

13. Christopher L. Eisgruber, *Is the Supreme Court an Educative Institution?,* 67 **N.Y.U. L. Rev.** 961 (1992), pp. 17, 18.

14. Equality for women, black or white, was not under consideration at that time.

15. The lists were supplied by Veronica Jennings, ASNE Minority Affairs Director. The minority members' list was dated "as of April 10, 1994," and noted that 33 minority journalists of the 892 members constituted 3.7% of the total membership. The Minorities Committee list was dated July 26, 1994. One name appears on both lists. Several people had moved and left no addresses or could not be reached in March 1995.

16. They were asked to list the three most important issues facing minority journalists today; to speculate on why newspapers were unable to recruit more minorities according to the "Year 2000 goal" and to suggest what newspapers could do to speed up the process; to assess whether the "Year 2000 goal" was realistic, and whether it is under threat in the new climate of "the Contract with America"; and to assess the status of women in the nation's newspapers.

17. *The Report of the Joint Journalism Education Committee: National Survey,"* **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors,** 1941, pp. 176-181, details pp. 176, 177, 180, 181.

18. *The Press Looks at the Problem of Integration.* **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1956, 72.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

23. Throughout the paper, I will use the terms used by ASNE members to refer to African Americans (Negroes in the 1950s and Blacks in the 1970s and 1980s, and African Americans at present).

24. *The Press Looks, op.cit.*, 1956, p. 84.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

29. *Ibid*, p. 94.

30. Mark Tushnet, *A Tribute to Justice Thurgood Marshall: Lawyer Thurgood Marshall*, (1992), p. 30.

31. *The Press Looks at, op.cit.*, 1956, p. 90.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

33. ***Ibid.***, p. 86.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

38. Barker and Jones, 1994, p. 200

39. Floyd McKissick, Panel Discussion, ASNE, 1967, *Our Urban Dilemmas-Can We Lick Them?: II. The Human Aspects,* **Problems of Journalism: Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1967, p. 34.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 39.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

45. Mark Tushnet, *Justice Thurgood Marshall: The Principled Dissenter,* **44 Stan. L. Rev. 1277** (June 1986), p. 4.

46. **U.S. Riot Commission Report: What Happened? Why Did it Happen? What Can Be Done? Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders [Kerner Report]**. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968, pp. 384-85.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

52. *Ibid.*, p 383.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, 386.

55. *A Joint Report, op.cit.*, 1972, p. 238.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *A Joint Report, op.cit.*, 1972, p. 234.

58. *Education for Journalism Report: Report by the Committee to the Convention,* **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1970, p. 248.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *A Joint Report, op.cit.*, 1972, p. 234.

61. *Minority Employment Committee Report,* **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1973, p. 268.

62. *A Joint Report, op.cit.*, 1972, p. 235.

63. *Ibid*, 1972, pp. 235-36.

64. *Report of the minority Employment Chairman,* **Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors** annual convention, 1973, pp. 18-19.

65. **Report of Minority**, *op.cit.*, 1972, p. 233.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

67. *A Joint Report, op. cit.*, 1972, p. 233.

68. *Minority Employment Committee Report, op.cit., 1973,* p. 267.

69. *Minority Employment Committee Report: "Don't Steal My Black Reporter,"* **Problems of Journalism, Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1974, p. 241.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

71. *Ibid.* , p. 241.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

76. Minorities Supplement: Special Coverage Efforts," **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1978, p. 408.

77. ***Minorities Supplement: Special Coverage Efforts***, **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1978, p. 408.

78. *Committee on Minorities Report*, **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings: American Society of Newspaper Editors** (1978), p. 407.

79. **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1979, p. 288. *Report of the Minority Committee*, **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1980, p. 289.

80. *Minorities Committee Report, op.cit.*, 1980, p. 326.

81. *Report of the Education for Journalism Committee*, **Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1988, p. 346.

82. *Minorities Committee Report, The Year of the Conferences, op.cit.*, 1981, p. 344.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

86. ***Minorities Supplement: Special Coverage Efforts***, **Problems of Journalism, Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1978, pp. 403-404.

87. *Report of the Minority and Employment Committee*, **Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1981, p. 341.

88. *Minorities Committee Report, op.cit.*, 1980, p. 327.

89. *Minorities Committee Report, op.cit.*, 1981, p. 338.

90. *A Report on the ASNE Committee on Minorities, op.cit.*, 1982, p. 246.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

94. *Minorities and Newspapers, A Report by the American Society of Newspaper Editors Committee on Minorities: Summary of Findings*, **Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors,** 1982, p. 246.

95. Ibid.

96. Inez Alicea, **No Headlines Headway: Hispanics in the News Media, Losing Ground, A 1994-1995 Report,** pp. 2-3.

97. *A Report by the ASNE Committee on Minorities, op.cit.*, 1982, p. 248.

98. *A Report by the ASNE Committee on Minorities, op. cit.*, 1982, pp. 200, 201.

99. "How to)and How not to) Recruit Minorities," ASNE Proceedings, 1985, p. 201.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 197

101. *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 198.

102. *Minorities After the Hire [Workshop]*, **Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1987, p. 265.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

104. *Ibid.*

105. Multiculturalism, **Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors**, 1992, pp. 150-160.

106. Ibid, p. 156.

107. "Education for Journalism Committee," Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1988, p. 348).

108. Ibid, pp. 348, 349.

109. Ibid, p. 348.

110. Letter, March 24, 1995.

111. The annual survey results were released at the ASNE convention held in Dallas, Texas, April 4-7, 1995. Tables A-G are also drawn from that press release. The ASNE annual census tracks minority and overall newsroom employment trends. The data is based on employment data reported by daily newspapers for the end of the preceding year. The ASNE survey findings are based on responses from 1,029 of 1,492 daily newspapers, or 69 percent of all U.S. dailies. The results are projected to reflect all daily newspapers in the country.

112. Telephone interview March 10, 1995.

113. Telephone Interview, March 9, 1995.

114. Telephone Interview, March 10.

115. Letter, March 24, 1995.

116. Letter, March 24, 1995.

117. Telephone Interview, March 9, 1995.

118. Telephone Interview, March 9, 1995.

119. Telephone Interview, March 10, 1995.

120. Letter, March 24, 1995.

121. Letter, March 24, 1995.

122. Telephone Interview, March 10, 1995.

123. Telephone Interview, March 21, 1995.

124. Telephone Interview, March 21, 1995.

125. Telephone Interview, March 9, 1994.

126. Telephone Interview, March 10, 1995.

127. Telephone Interview, March 10, 1995.

128. *Other Professionals take varied Approaches to Diversify their Ranks*. **The Bulletin**, [American Society of Newspaper Editors], April 1994, pp. 14, 15.

129. 1991, p. 304.

130. *The Press Looks at, op.cit.*, 1956, p. 73.

Table A

Minority employment in daily newspapers: projections based on responses to annual employment census
(numbers rounded)

	Total Work Force	Minorities Work Force	% Minorities in Work Force
1978	43,000	1,700	3.95
1979	45,000	1,900	4.22
1980	47,000	2,300	4.89
1981	45,500	2,400	5.27
1982	49,000	2,700	5.51
1983	50,000	2,800	5.60
1984	50,400	2,900	5.75
1985	53,800	3,100	5.76
1986	54,000	3,400	6.30
1987	54,700	3,600	6.56
1988	55,300	3,900	7.02
1989	56,200	4,200	7.54
1990	56,900	4,500	7.86
1991	55,700	4,900	8.72
1992	54,500	5,100	9.39
1993	53,600	5,500	10.25
1994	53,700	5,600	10.49
1995	53,000	5,900	10.91

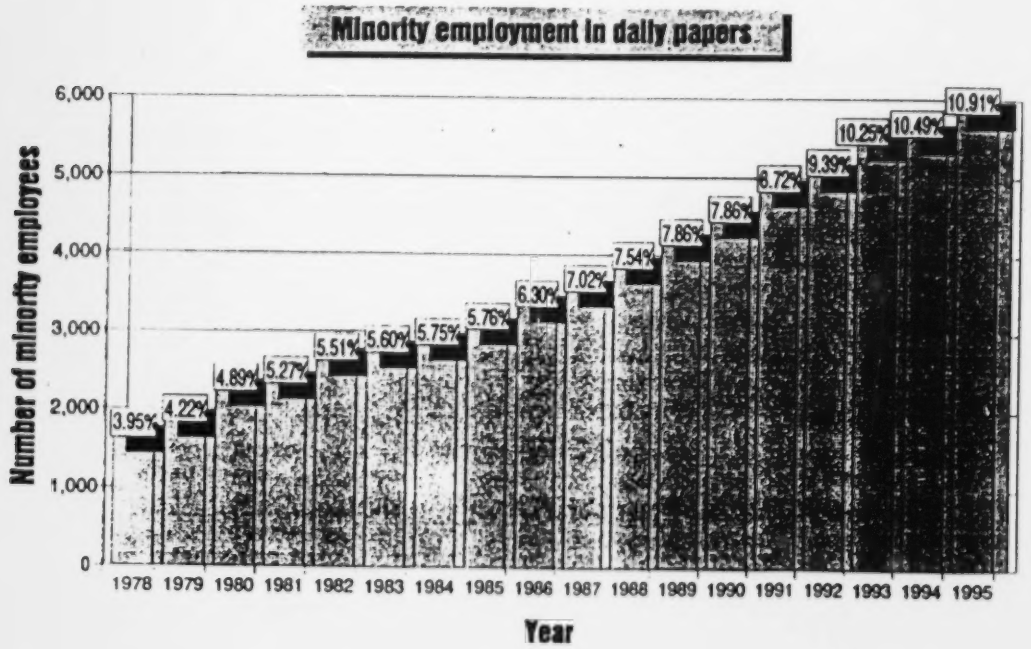

Table B

Percentage distribution of whites and minorities in job categories: 1978-, 1988-1995

Whites

	1978	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Reporters	54	51	51	50	49	49	48	48	47
Photographers	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Copy Editors	23	16	15	16	16	16	17	17	18
Supervisors	13	23	24	24	25	25	25	24	25

Minorities

	1978	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Reporters	67	59	57	56	55	54	53	53	52
Photographers	13	13	13	14	13	14	13	13	13
Copy Editors	16	15	16	16	16	16	17	17	17
Supervisors	4	13	14	14	16	16	17	18	18

Table C

Numbers and percentage of whites and minorities by job category - 1995

	Total Work Force	Minorities No.	Pct.	Whites No.	Pct.
Supervisors	12,817	1,049	8.2	11,768	91.8
Copy Editors	9,832	996	10.1	8,836	89.9
Reporters	25,444	3,037	11.9	22,407	88.1
Photographers	5,747	792	13.8	4,955	86.2
Totals	**53,840**	**5,874**		**47,966**	

Table D

Numbers and percentages of minorities in internships: 1988-1995

	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		1995	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Over 500,000	112	42.3	112	41.2	124	42.5	125	46.3	118	53.9	82	46.3	90	47.6	94	44.6
250,001 to 500,000	85	41.0	34	47.4	108	37.6	130	43.3	135	50.9	134	50.4	129	51.7	154	50.2
100,001 to 250,000	194	30.0	204	35.4	226	39.1	230	40.2	186	50.0	222	49.3	205	47.4	214	47.1
50,001 to 100,000	178	31.8	178	34.7	214	37.0	229	44.4	222	48.0	190	46.8	212	44.4	207	44.4
25,001 to 50,000	114	25.9	128	28.0	136	25.1	128	28.8	118	34.1	149	35.1	131	36.5	118	29.6
10,001 to 25,000	76	16.7	76	17.4	102	21.9	100	21.1	97	26.8	108	27.4	116	25.6	94	22.0
5,001 to 10,000	27	11.5	26	12.0	31	11.3	22	10.4	35	15.6	24	13.8	29	18.1	25	11.9
5,000 and under	10	12.5	13	14.6	13	14.6	16	14.6	6	8.8	15	21.6	6	10.3	11	14.3
Totals	796	27.5	871	30.6	954	30.7	980	33.8	917	39.6	924	39.2	917	38.7	916	36.0

Table E

Numbers and percentages of minorities in first full-time professional jobs: 1988-1995

	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		1995	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Over 500,000	29	65.9	15	39.5	19	67.9	29	61.7	36	64.2	23	38.9	26	59.1	18	56.3
260,001 to 500,000	50	29.4	46	40.0	42	30.2	39	43.0	30	47.6	43	40.0	59	57.9	38	43.8
100,000 to 250,000	118	33.6	99	30.1	115	41.9	127	41.0	64	31.1	104	50.0	88	52.7	80	38.2
50,001 to 100,000	94	23.4	126	28.2	105	32.6	106	29.1	77	23.6	104	33.6	99	33.9	117	37.1
25,000 to 50,000	124	19.2	107	18.2	132	20.9	121	26.1	79	16.6	89	24.3	130	29.8	91	23.3
10,001 to 25,000	133	13.4	144	13.8	120	13.4	138	17.1	92	13.6	135	19.3	110	15.8	123	15.7
5,001 to 10,000	54	9.5	62	9.0	42	7.2	45	9.0	55	8.3	42	11.2	52	11.3	36	7.7
5,000 and Under	18	8.9	9	4.9	15	8.4	25	11.6	13	22.7	13	8.3	9	6.2	11	21.0
Totals	620	18.3	608	17.7	590	19.3	630	22.5	446	22.7	553	24.2	572	24.4	513	21.0

Table F

Minority journalists as a percentage of the professional work force of newspapers in eight circulation categories: 1980, 1988-1995

	1980	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Over 500,000	7.2	11.7	12.5	13.3	14.1	15.6	16.1	17.1	17.3
250,001 to 500,000	6.4	9.7	10.7	11.6	12.0	13.3	14.3	15.4	15.7
100,001 to 250,000	6.3	7.8	8.5	8.7	9.8	10.4	11.8	11.8	12.3
50,001 to 100,000	5.6	7.1	7.8	7.9	9.1	9.3	10.3	10.0	10.9
25,001 to 50,000	4.2	4.8	4.6	5.0	5.4	5.7	7.0	6.9	7.1
10,001 to 25,000	3.1	4.7	5.0	4.7	5.3	5.7	6.5	6.1	5.8
5,001 to 10,000	2.4	3.8	3.7	4.0	4.8	4.5	4.9	5.0	5.3
5,000 and Under	2.8	4.2	4.7	4.7	5.3	5.4	5.2	5.4	5.0

121

Table G

Percentage of newspapers in seven circulation categories employing minority journalists: 1978, 1988-1995

	1978	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Over 500,000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
250,001 to 500,000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
100,001 to 250,000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
50,001 to 100,000	77	90	88	89	93	94	94	91	91
25,001 to 50,000	46	64	65	68	70	68	72	72	74
10,001 to 25,000	23	43	46	43	45	44	50	50	49
10,000 and under	12	20	20	21	24	25	24	23	25

Source for Tables A-G: ASNE Press Release, April 4, 1995, "Minority Newsroom Employment Shows Small Gain, 1995 ASNE Survey Finds," 1-10.

Table H

Distribution of minorities in selected professions

Occupation	All	Hispanics		Native Americans		Asian Americans		Blacks	
	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Accountant	1,590.1*	56.9	3.6	4.9	0.3	85.9	5.4	75.5	4.7
Architect	156.8	7.9	5.0	0.8	0.5	8	5.1	4.3	2.7
Engineer	1706.6	53.8	3.2	4.7	0.3	119	7.0	59.2	3.5
Computer Scientist	470.2	13.2	2.8	1.2	0.3	48.6	10.3	24.8	5.3
Physician	586.6	28.7	4.9	0.8	0.1	63.4	10.8	30	5.1
Teacher	4599.4	197.7	4.3	22.8	0.5	66.3	1.5	435.5	9.6
Editor & Reporter	266.5	8.1	3.0	0.7	0.3	4.6	1.7	15.8	5.9
Economist	152.2	4.1	2.7	0.4	0.3	4.8	3.2	7	4.6
Lawyer	746	19.6	2.6	1.5	0.2	5	0.7	27.2	3.6
Scientist	408.6	12.3	3.0	1.6	0.4	27.2	6.7	17	4.2
Finance	679	29	4.3	2	0.3	19.3	2.8	39.1	5.8
Funeral directors	45.4	0.8	1.8	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.7	4.9	10.8

* in thousands.

Source for Table H: The 1990 Census of Population, Detailed Occupation and Other Characteristics from the EEO File for the United States quoted by ASNE Bulletin, April/May 1994, 15.

African Americans on Television: 25 Years After Kerner

submitted by

Paula W. Matabane
and
Bishetta Merritt

Department of Radio, TV and Film
School of Communications
Howard University
Washington,D.C. 20059

TELE 202-8067927
FAX 202-806-5216

African Americans and Television: 25 Years After Kerner

Civil Rights and urban rebellions in the 1960's illuminated discrimination on television. The Kerner Commission recommended an increase of African Americans in news and television fiction. We content analyzed 144 African Americans in 44 prime time fiction series from 1993 and found lingering residue of racism and sexism. Most African Americans were in situation-comedies with undeveloped characterizations; males out numbered females and occupied more significant positions. The traditional black buffoon was absent.

African Americans on Television: 25 Years After Kerner

The Civil Rights Movement and urban rebellions in the 1960's brought discrimination and racism on the television screen into the public limelight. In response, the Kerner Commission recommended an increased presence of African Americans in both news and television fiction. In this study we content analyzed 144 African American roles in 44 series from the 1993 television season.

We found the lingering residue of racism and sexism. The vast majority of African Americans appeared in situation-comedies based within the home but were portrayed as generally competent. The traditional black buffoon was absent and few blacks were cast as criminals. There were no black dramas and very little focus on crime as a storyline. Males outnumbered females by 39 percent and were often portrayed in occupations of power. Women were more often cast in family relationships. There was a strong tendency to present characters with undeveloped backgrounds and relationships. Viewers were left to define characters more by material consumption levels which tended toward middle class. It is difficult to make conclusions about progress through change since 20 of the 44 series analyzed were canceled by the beginning of the 1994 television season.

Introduction and Review

This research study assesses the representation of African Americans as fictional characters on four national commercial television networks. Television is presumed to play a significant socializing role that may contribute to the intensification of social divisions or their reduction. In 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (herein the Kerner Commission or the Commission) issued its report on the causes of the rampant racial disturbances that occurred in American cities during the 1960's. The mass media were chief among the institutions cited as having a role in the creation of an antagonistic schism between black and white America.

Specifically the Commission made the following recommendation regarding African Americans and television:

> Television should develop programming which integrates Negroes into all aspects of televised presentations.. In addition to news-related programming, we think that Negroes ought to appear more frequently in dramatic and comedy series.

This recommendation presupposes a moral obligation by the networks to serve all of the nation's citizens by representing their lives in both fiction and nonfiction programming. It also presumes a behavior modelling role for television. It does not address larger social-economic-political questions of ownership of television and control over the images created and represented. The nation's moral or legal obligation to provide such opportunities is neither stated nor implied. Gatekeepers of the status quo seem uninterested in the relationship between images and ownership

and control. The few affirmative action concessions promoting minority onwership of the media won by the civil rights movement remain under constant attack. An analysis of television images 25 years after the Kerner Commission report should provide insights into the importance of ownership and control to meaningful change in images and content.

This study content analyzed images of African American characters in recurring fictional roles on prime-time television network series in 1993. Our purpose was to provide a baseline database for an updated analysis of

a) how the portrayal of African Americans in prime-time fiction has changed qualitatively and quantitatively since 1987-88 (the time of our last study); and

b) how African Americans are currently portrayed in commercial fictional series.

In our last study (Stroman, Merritt and Matabane, 1989-90) of African American prime-time television fictional characters we concluded that it appears, overall, that a more positive picture of African Americans was emerging on television. However, the vicissitudes of television program competition given the rapid growth of cable and the VCR are that all that is constant is change in programming and characters. Programs are given less time to establish themselves before being replaced by a new series. Displaced and current series are syndicated daily creating a blur of images in constant flux. In this context, it is hard to speak of progress.

In this intense media environment, we could not identify other studies in the past five years assessing African American images on television. There is no "state-of-the-art" status or on-going cultural indicators study of the representation of African Americans in television. Most published research is about the burgeoning information highway and attendant issues of privacy. Yet it remains that most Americans, especially African Americans, are tied into the entertainment tier of the vast information system.

Our concern about the portrayal of African Americans on television begins with the observation that African Americans remain vastly underrepresented as owners and producers of television systems and production companies. They are vastly absent from decision making roles in the networks and production houses. In effect, the range and quantity of African American images presented on television are tied to cultural domination and marketplace assumptions about the audiences for black oriented content. While the greater implications of this relationship of dominance and subordination are beyond the scope of this paper, they raise critical reasons for pursuing this type of descriptive study which are psychological and ideological.

There is an ever growing body of research that supports the assertion that media coverage and portrayals have far-reaching effects on audiences. A large number of studies (see for example studies by Gerbner et al., 1977,1980, 1982; Dorr, 1982; Matabane, 1988; Gandy and Matabane, 1989; Merritt

and Stroman, 1993; et al.) support the belief that frequent exposure to television portrayals of African Americans cultivates viewer beliefs and images congruent to a dominant cultural perspective on television. The history of black images in American mainstream popular culture has been consistently negative. We rarely relate these ugly images to mere aesthetics but to issues of cultural, political, economic and social hegemony. The essential concern is that these faulty images do contribute to the further entrenchment of social inequality, discrimination and domination (Gandy and Matabane, 1989).

Mere demographic assessments without a theoretical understanding of television images as symbols and codes are of limited value. In the real world, the dominant class promotes its own agenda of preferred values to help maintain the status quo. These are reflected in television fiction including the activities, occupations and storylines in which characters differentially appear by race, class and gender. A baseline inventory of television representations of subordinate groups provides an empirical basis for examining relationships between images as symbols imbued with dominant culture and political meanings.

Methods

In order to assess television images against the Kerner Commission's limited recommendations, we conducted a content analysis of prime-time television series. Our data

collection had two main focuses: 1) to document the present-day portrayal of African Americans in recurring roles on prime-time fictional television; and 2) to provide data on the context or setting in which these African American characters are presented.

We videotaped and utilized all nonrepeating episodes for four weeks of all national network commercial television series containing regular African American characters and airing during prime time (8-11 p.m., Sunday - Saturday) in the 1993 Fall season. We monitored ABC, CBS, NBC and Fox.

Programs were coded for two types of information: 1) characteristics of individual characters; and 2) characteristics of individual programs. Character attributes included basic demographic information, physical depiction of women and their clothing style, characteristics of role played, and family relationships. Program attributes included type of program, setting, location, region, and racial composition of setting and neighborhood.

Category definitions proposed were used in previous studies by Stroman et al., 1989-90; Seggar et al., 1981; Baptista-Fernandez and Greenberg, 1980; Greenberg and Neuendorf, 1980; Hinton et al, 1974; Seggar and Wheeler, 1973. Coding was done by five graduate students trained by the researchers. Intercoder reliability checks were done before and during the study to maintain reliability scores between .80 and .90. Ten percent of the data was rechecked at the end to assure reliability. Reliability was derived by

calculating the percentage of agreement among independently coded observations using the following formula:

$$C.R. = \frac{3M}{N_1 + N_2 + N_3}$$

where M is the number of coding decisions on which the coders agreed, and $N_1 + N_2 + N_3$ refer to the number of coding decisions made by the three coders (Holsti, 1969).

Findings and Discussion

We content analyzed 142 black characters in 44 programs. Sixty-five percent of the characters were presented in programs with six to 11 black characters. The remaining 35 percent were in programs with three or less black characters. The plurality (42 percent) of actors were in supporting roles, 35 percent were minor and/or non recurring and 23 percent were in major roles. Most characters were between the ages of 20 - 35 (46 percent) while 29 percent were under 20 giving prime-time African Americans a definite bias toward youth. (See Table 1 for data on character attributes, and Table 2 for data on program attributes.)

We content analyzed 44 programs of which 59 percent were sit-coms, and 31.8 percent were dramas. There were three action programs and one science fiction. Nine (20.5 percent) programs had a predominately black setting all of

which were sitcoms. There were no black dramas or action programs. Forty-two programs of the 44 programs recorded had at least one black character with a speaking role (Hart to Hart and Joe's Place had no blacks). Programs set in white (32) or racially mixed settings (five) were evenly cast as sitcoms and dramas (see Table 2). This greater diversity in genre suggests more creativity and latitude in storylines and topics presented. It implies the opportunity for a broader vision, more character development and choices available in the predominately white programs than the black ones.

Table 2 illustrates this wider range of topics among white programs (programs were coded for multiply topics). Black shows focused on family, dating and friends. Crime was not a topic on a black program and only one black program used the urban ghetto as its regular setting. Meanwhile, all but one black series were centered at home as compared to 53 percent of the white programs which were centered on the workplace.

This difference in workplace versus home setting is reflected in the restricted presentation of black characters in occupational roles. By occupation, 36 percent were coded as none or unknown, 22 percent were students, 25 percent were various blue collar workers and 4.9 percent were criminals (see Table 1). In this powerless group, there were seven criminals (six of whom were males). Thus, the majority (60.6 percent) of black characters were portrayed in positions of little consequence, insignificant power or decision making in

the broader world. Appromixately, twenty-eight percent were depicted in professional occupations and 10.6 percent were in law enforcement.

The politics of power as demonstrated through occupation was intensified through gender. A majority (52 percent) of women were cast as unknown, none or student while only 34 percent of men were so portrayed. The distribution of males and females by age was very similar percentage wise so this occupational skew cannot be attributed to age.

In contrast to the days of Amos 'n' Andy role types, few characters (seven percent) were cast as incompetent. A clear majority (79 percent) were of either general or high levels of competence. Less than one-third of the characters were comics, 30 percent were serious and 38 percent combined seriousness with the comic. Young characters were more likely to be comical than older characters. Females were less likely to serve in comical roles and were more likely (87 percent) than males (74 percent) to demonstrate general or high levels of competence.

The family relational status of most characters (53 percent) was unknown. This contrasts strongly to seven percent who were actively portrayed with no family connections and 40 percent with family membership. Similarly, 52 percent were cast as single, 35 percent depicted with an unknown marital status and only 13 percent were either married or living together. Women were twice as likely to be married than men and more likely to belong to a

family. But the family membership and marital status of both males and females was more likely unknown. All characters were more likely to be either single or of an unidentified marital status.

The tendency seems to skew toward characters with undeveloped backgrounds -- unknown occupations and family connections. These are important descriptors for defining characters and establishing their motivations, relationships to others and realism. Unknown social relationships is also a dramatic departure from present reality and the traditional preferred social values of African Americans. No one really expects television to offer a perfect mirror of society. But as a dominant mainstream role modelling agent it is clearly out of tune with the African American mainstream.

Viewers are left to define characters more by materialistic consumption levels which presume but do not adequately reflect social class. Based on occupation and/or levels of materialistic consumption, most of the characters were portrayed as middle class (42 percent) and upper middle class (11 percent). The rest were working class (33 percent) or underclass (seven percent).

Despite the powerless occupational representation of females, females were far more likely (77 percent) to be middle class or upper middle class than working class (24 percent) or underclass (4 percent) in their apparent consumption levels and lifestyles. Female consumption levels were reflected in their dress styles. None were dressed

poorly while 52 percent wore ordinary clothing and 37 percent were well-dressed. In comparison, 45 percent of black men were portrayed as middle or upper middle class. Meanwhile, home ownership as a key symbol of middle class status was known for only 27 percent of the sample.

By network, CBS had no predominately black shows but had the most predominately white shows (14). CBS was the only network that featured more older black characters than young characters. Fox had the most predominately black shows (5) while ABC aired three black shows and NBC aired one.

By network, Fox had the most black characters with 44, CBS had the fewest with 28. Males outnumbered females 88 to 54 (or 39 percent more males). Each network featured more males than females. CBS and Fox had twice as many males as females.

Conclusion

Change and unknown status are perhaps the most noticeable findings in this study. From the 1993 season, 20 programs were cancelled and only 24 were still on the air in 1994 at the time of this analysis. Our 1988 study only looked at series with a regular African American character. This study examined all black characters with a speaking role in all prime-time programs. We find that while there are more characters in this sample, there are far more unknowns thus fewer cues for understanding characters. We feel that this is a critical finding providing a more complete

perspective of African American images on television. To limit a study to simply the more visible characters is to ignore the subtle messages in which racism and sexism are so often embedded in this era of supposed diversity and multiculturalism.

For example, our previous study suggested a near parity in male-female representation based on a more limited data base. In this report we observed 39 percent more males than females -- a real disproportion based on current demographics. Meanwhile, Females continued to be defined by home, family and sit-com genres in both sample seasons.

In 1989, we felt that a more positive reportoire of African American images on television was emerging. We conclude differently for 1993. There is more flux, many unknowns, and continuing restrictions in depictions especially for females.

Women and racial minorities represent the largest audience segments for television yet they have the least control and lowest levels of meaningful participation in television. On the other hand, while minorities are not a homogenous whole or unified, their viewership is essential to the success of most programs especially those in syndication. In 1988, the reruns of the Cosby Show and the Oprah Winfrey Show grossed $531 million. Women and African Americans clearly represent the majority viewers of these two shows which bring in huge profits to the stations and networks. We conclude that the Kerner Commission offers general basis for

assessing positive action toward diversity and inclusion in television. But that is clearly insufficient as we look at the slow progress made. Racial minorities and underrepresented women's groups must move into the highest echelons of management and ownership if we expect to see real changes in media images by the 21st century.

References

Baptista-Fernandez, P. and Greenberg, B.S. (1980). The context, characteristics, and communication behaviors of blacks on television. In B.S. Greenberg (Ed.) Life on television: Content analysis of U.S. TV drama. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Brown, M.A. (1993) Introduction: Feminist cultural television criticism -- Culture, theory and practice. In M. A. Brown (Ed.) Television and women's culture: The politics of the popular. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage.

Dorr, A. (1982). Television and its socializing effect on minority children. In G.L. Berry and C. Mitchell-Kernan (Eds.), Television and the socialization of the minority child. New York: Academic Press.

Gandy, O.H. and Matabane, P. W. (1989). Television and social perceptions among African Americans and Hispanics. In M.K. Asante and W. Gudykunst (Eds.), Handbook of intercultural and international communication. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Eleey, M.F., Jackson-Beeck, M., Jeffries-Fox, S., Signorielli, N. TV violence profile no. 8: The highlights. Journal of Communication. 27(2), 177-180.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Signorielli, N., Morgan, M. (1980). The mainstreaming of America: Violence profile no. 11. Journal of Communication. 30(3), 11-29.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., Signorielli, N.(1980). Charting the mainstream of America: Television's contribution to political orientations. Journal of Communication, 32(2), 100-126.

Greenberg, B.S. and Neuendorf, K.A., 1980. Black family interactions on television. In B.S. Greenberg (Ed.) Life on television: Content analysis of U.S. TV drama. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Hinton, J.L., Seggar, J.F., Northcott, H.C. and Fontes, B, (1974). Tokenism and improving imagery of blacks in TV drama and comedy. Journal of Broadcasting, 18, 423-437.

Holsti, O. 1969. Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities. Reading, MA.: Addison-Wesley.

Matabane, P. (1988). Television and the black audience: Cultivating moderate perspectives on racial integration. Journal of Communication, 38(4), 21-31.

Merritt, B. and Stroman, C.A. (1993). Black family imagery and interactions on television: Is the image changing? Journal of Black Studies, Summer.

Nightingale, Virginia (1993). Women as audiences. In M. A. Brown (Ed.) Television and women's culture: The politics of the popular. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage.

Northcott, H.C., Seggar, J.F. and Hinton, J.L. (1975). Trends in TV portrayal of blacks and women. Journalism Quarterly, 52, 741-744.

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission). (1968). New York: Bantam Books.

Roberts, C. (1970-71). The portrayal of blacks on network television. Journal of Broadcasting, 15, 45-53.

Seggar, J.F. (1977). Television's portrayal of minorities and women, 1971-1975. Journal of Broadcasting, 21, 435-446.

Seggar, J.F., Hafen, J. and Hannonen-Gladen, H (1981). Television's portrayal of minorities and women in drama and comedy drama, 1971-1980. Journal of Broadcasting, 25, 277-288.

Seggar, J.F. and Wheeler, P. (1973). World of work on TV: Ethnic and sex representation in TV drama. Journal of Broadcasting, 17, 201-214.

Signorielli, N. (1981). Content analysis: More than just counting minorities. In H. Myrick and C. Keegan (Eds.), In search of diversity. Washington, D.C.: CPB.

Stroman, C.A., Merritt, B. and Matabane, P. W. (1989-90). Twenty years after Kerner: The portrayal of African Americans on prime-time television. Howard Journal of Communications, vol. 2, no. 1, 44-55.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, (1977). Window dressing on the set: Women and minorities in television. Washington, D.C.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, (1979). Window dressing on the set: An update, Washington, D.C.

Table 1 Attributes of African American TV Characters

Attribute	*N* (N=144)	%	*M* %*	*F* %*
Sex				
Female	54	38.0		
Male	88	62.0		
Age				
0-12	7	4.9	3.4	7.4
13-20	21	14.8	18.1	9.3
21-35	65	45.8	47.7	42.6
36-50	33	23.2	19.3	29.6
51+	16	11.3	11.4	11.1
SES				
Upper	16	11.3	10.2	12.9
Middle	61	43.0	35.2	55.6
Working	47	33.1	38.7	24.1
Underclass	10	7.0	9.1	3.7
Unknown	8	5.6	6.8	3.7
Occupation				
Professional/Managerial	37	25.9	27.4	31.5
Blue Collar	25	17.6	19.3	7.3
Law Enforcement	15	10.6	12.5	7.4
Student	22	15.5	15.9	14.8
None	16	11.3	5.6	20.4
Criminal	7	4.9	6.8	1.9
Unknown	20	14.2	12.5	16.7
Physique (Females only, N=54)				
Obese	8	15.4		
Normal	35	67.3		
Thin	9	17.3		
Dress Style				
Sexy	3	5.9		
Showy	2	3.9		
Well-dressed	19	37.3		
Ordinary	27	52.9		
Poor	0	0.0		
Competence				
High	55	24.6	19.3	33.3
General	77	54.2	54.5	53.7
Occasional	20	14.1	17.1	9.3
Incompetent	10	7.1	9.1	3.7
Family Membership				
Yes	57	40.1	34.1	50.0
No	9	6.4	7.9	3.7
Unknown	76	53.5	58.0	46.3

Marital Status				
Married	15	10.6	8.0	14.8
Shacking Up	3	2.1	2.3	1.9
Single	74	52.1	51.1	53.7
Unknown	50	35.2	38.6	29.6
Home Ownership				
Yes	39	27.5	23.9	33.3
No	16	11.3	12.5	9.3
Unknown	87	61.2	63.6	57.4
Role				
Comic	44	31.0	35.2	24.1
Serious	44	31.0	30.7	31.5
Mixed	54	38.0	34.1	44.4
Role Importance				
Major	33	23.2	20.5	27.8
Supporting	59	41.5	42.0	40.7
Minor or non recurring	50	35.3	37.5	31.5
Networks				
ABC	39	27.5	56.4	43.6
CBS	28	19.7	67.9	32.1
NBC	31	21.8	58.1	41.9
Fox	44	31.0	65.9	34.1

M=black males
F=black females

Table 2 Programmatic Attributes of African American Characters

Attribute	N (N=44)	%	B%*	W%*	M%*
Program type					
Situation Comedy	26	59.1	100	46.7	60
Action-Adventure	3	6.8	0	10.0	0
Drama	14	31.8	0	40.0	40
Science-Fiction	1	2.3	0	3.3	0
Program Setting					
Home	18	40.9	88.9	30.0	20.0
Work	18	40.9	0	53.3	40.0
Other	8	18.2	11.1	16.7	40.0
Racial Composition of Setting					
Predominantly black	9	20.5			
Predominantly white	30	68.2			
Mixed	5	11.3			
Location of Setting					
Northeast	8	18.2	33.3	10.0	40.0
South	10	22.7	0	30.0	20.0
West	6	6.8	22.2	13.3	0
Midwest	3	6.8	11.1	6.7	0
Northwest	1	2.3	0	3.3	0
Unknown	16	36.3	33.3	36.7	40.0
Suburban	15	34.1	33.3	36.7	20.0
Urban	15	34.1	33.3	33.3	40.0
Ghetto	2	4.5	11.1	0	20.0
Rural	1	2.3	0	3.3	0
Unknown	11	25.0	22.2	26.7	20.0
Program Topics (only n's reported since programs were multi-coded)					
crime	7		0	6	1
family	5		4	1	0
work	3		0	3	0
dating	6		2	4	0
rape	1		0	0	1
legal	1		0	1	0
sports	2		0	2	0
marriage	1		0	1	0
parenting	1		0	1	0
friends	2		1	1	0
murder	4		0	4	0
race	2		0	2	0
pregnancy	1		1	0	0

Networks			Number of		
			B	W	M
ABC	9	20.5	3	5	1
CBS	14	31.8	0	14	0
NBC	10	22.7	1	1	3
Fox	11	25.0	5	5	1

B=black
W=white
M=racially mixed

Networks			Number of		
			B	W	M
ABC	9	20.5	3	5	1
CBS	14	31.8	0	14	0
NBC	10	22.7	1	1	3
Fox	11	25.0	5	5	1

B=black
W=white
M=racially mixed

Only in Glimpses:

Portrayal of America's Largest Minority Groups by the New York *Times*, 1934-1994

by

Carolyn Martindale

Director, Journalism Program

Youngstown State University

Youngstown, OH 44555

Office: 216-742-3415
Home: 216-758-2135
FAX: 216-742-2304

Copyright © by Carolyn Martindale, 1995

Only in Glimpses: Portrayal of America's Largest Minority Groups by the New York *Times*, 1934-1994

by Carolyn Martindale

One of the great ironies of life in the U.S. is the way white Americans are so proud of this country being "the melting pot," and are willing to celebrate the contributions of the various groups that comprise American society--as long as those people are white. White Americans quite willingly observe St. Patrick's Day, and Italian-American Day, and Oktoberfests. But the U.S. has no holidays or observances indicating that we value the presence in our society of African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos of any race[1] or Asians, except for Martin Luther King Day--and even that has been reluctantly accepted. For years it was not observed in Arizona, and now New Hampshire has disallowed it.

Many whites' attitude toward Martin Luther King Day was typified early this year by the remark of a western Pennsylvania township trustee. When he was questioned about whether to reschedule a trustees' meeting that fell on the holiday honoring Dr. King, he said he saw no reason to reschedule the meeting because the day was a holiday for "colored" people and "doesn't involve us."[2]

This "us-them" mentality seems to lie at the root of white Americans' reluctance to recognize and honor the contributions of non-white immigrants, Native Americans and the descendants of the

Spanish settlers of California and the Southwestern states formerly owned by Mexico. Just like the Irish, the Germans, the Italians, the Czechs and Poles and Hungarians, these Americans have labored just as hard to build the country, have fought in her wars, have contributed their foods and music and genius to our polyglot culture. Yet their contributions are largely absent from our history books, from our news media and from our national consciousness. Many people believe the reason for that absence is a bred-in-the-bone racism in U.S. society that says a non-white must be, by definition, less valuable than a white.

It is widely accepted among scholars and others interested in the media's coverage of race that the press has been a racist institution, as it has reflected the racism prevalent in white society throughout our country's history. Numerous studies have provided myriad examples of racist reporting of news about African Americans and Native Americans by various individual newspapers in different time periods in the past two centuries. Systematic studies of newspaper portrayals of Latinos and Asian Americans are fewer in number, but they reveal the same patterns of distorted, unrepresentative and demeaning coverage.

For example, a score of empirical studies of coverage of African Americans by newspapers in various parts of the country early in this century almost uniformly revealed that the papers gave little space to coverage of blacks and heavily emphasized crime news in the stories they did run. The only positive coverage was found in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. It was so

sparse that the researcher noted that African Americans could be seen in the paper only in glimpses, and a reader would have to search diligently to find them.[3] Studies of coverage since the Civil Rights Movement accelerated in the mid-1950s have indicated that more space was devoted to news about black Americans. The coverage, however, still showed scant attention to black problems and concerns, little explanation of the causes of black unrest during times of racial conflict, and very little coverage of the kind of everyday life activities of African Americans that are routinely covered for white Americans, such as births, deaths, marriages, organizational activities, individual achievements.[4]

Martindale's studies of four major newspapers' coverage of African Americans from the 1950s through the 1980s revealed considerably increased press attention to black Americans from the 1960s onward. It also showed diminished evidence of overt racism in coverage, increased coverage of black problems during the 1970s and '80s, and much greater coverage of everyday life activities of blacks. Also evident, however, was increased stereotypical coverage of black criminals, athletes and entertainers.[5]

In studies of press portrayals of Native Americans, Copeland's examples of colonial newspapers' portrayal of "the sculking Indian enemy" document the way hostility and fear of Native Americans dominated newspaper accounts of Indians from the earliest years of this country's founding.[6] Studies by Coward and others show that newspaper accounts condemning Native

Americans for their perceived savagery and providing no understanding of their cultures were the norm throughout the 19th century as well.[7] Weston and others indicate that in this century Native Americans are largely ignored in the press except in times of conflict, or when they are presented as exotic curiosities. They also find that Native Americans as a contemporary people, and discussion of their concerns, are largely absent from the press, even from newspapers published in areas with large Native American populations.[8]

Only a few empirical studies of media coverage of Latinos have been reported. These have covered Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Hispanics in general, and have been conducted in the past 30 years. In general, they have found that coverage is slight, tends to focus on situations in which the Latinos are presented as a threat or a problem for Anglo society or on other negative issues, and fails to show the everyday life activities of Latino communities.[9]

Even fewer empirical studies of media coverage of Asian Americans have been reported, and these tend to focus on local newspapers' coverage of issues concerning Chinese and Japanese Americans on the West Coast. Studies by Heuterman and others indicate that the newspapers reflected the prevailing attitudes of white Americans toward Asian Americans. The papers remained silent about or even participated in surges of xenophobia and persecution of Asian Americans.[10] A 1992 newswatch project done in the San Francisco area revealed numerous examples of

contemporary print and broadcast news coverage that perpetuated stereotypes, used ethnic slurs, and inflamed racial hostility toward Asian and Asian Pacific Americans.[11]

Almost never found are studies that examine in systematic fashion how newspapers covered all four minority groups, and that compare the coverage of each group to the others and draw out common themes or problems. A newswatch project conducted in 1993, however, yielded numerous anecdotal examples of inadequate coverage. The report said that coverage of African Americans is more abundant, varied and balanced than ever before, but still tends to focus on the negative aspects of African American life and culture.[12] In contrast, coverage involving Native Americans was marred by over-reliance on old images and stereotypes ("Going on the warpath," "Custer's Last Stand") and with old storylines (alcoholism and poverty, historical events). The coverage also failed to represent Native Americans as contemporary people facing the challenges of the real world.[13]

The coverage tended to depict Latinos as foreign to the U.S. and its values, the newswatch study said, and also failed to cover everyday life of Latino communities.[14] Similarly, the study indicated that the same problem affected coverage of Asian Americans, noting that the notion of "foreignness" hung over all Asian Americans, whether fifth-generation American or newly arrived refugees. The coverage had, however, begun to move past the polarized images of Asian Americans as criminals and gang members or model minorities. It had begun to include

increasingly varied and accurate portrayals, the study said.[15]

In their 1985 book, Wilson and Gutierrez stated that the white mainstream press in the U.S. has historically perceived of minorities as outside the American system, and has tended to report on them as people who either *have* problems or *cause* problems for society.[16] This analysis seems to account for many of the inaccurate portrayals reported above.

Since no systematic, quantitative study of news media portrayal of the four major minority groups has been done, it was thought that such a work could add some useful information to media scholars' ongoing analysis of print media coverage of people of color. Analyzing the coverage over time and noting how it changed and how the portrayals of the different groups compared to each other also seemed likely to provide valuable insights. Accordingly, the New York *Times*, which since its inception has considered itself the nation's "newspaper of record," was chosen for study. The time period selected was the past 60 years, from 1934 to 1994.

Design of the Study

A stratified sample of months of the year, weeks of the month and days of the week for every fourth year between 1934 and 1994 was drawn up. A sample of dates was drawn randomly from this group. The number of dates selected averaged about 20 per year for each of the 16 years chosen for sampling, for a total sample size of 326 issues.

The sample unit was any item about African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos or Asian Americans found in the main news section and the editorial pages of each sample issue. Sports, entertainment and other special sections of the papers were not studied, since the project's aim was to obtain a picture of the general news coverage of the various groups. The items coded included news and feature stories, photos, editorials, opinion columns, letters to the editor and cartoons. A total of 694 items were coded.

Each item found was measured and assigned to one of 15 subcategories of coverage on the basis of the item's topic. All items were converted to a standard 2.25-inch column width. The average number of column inches of coverage per issue per decade was computed by dividing the total number of inches of coverage found in that decade's sample issues by the total number of issues examined for that decade.

The 15 subcategories of coverage were devised from the types of coverage found in previous studies of news coverage of African Americans and Native Americans by this researcher and others. The subcategories comprised three main categories. These were Stereotypical coverage, which included items about persons accused of crimes, and about athletes and entertainers. The second general category, Everyday Life, included items that showed the everyday activities of people of color as part of the normal life of the community or larger society. Such items included news about community activities, military-related news,

individual achievements, political activities, government, disasters and culture-related items. The third category, Race-Related items, included articles about interracial violence, protests, discrimination, civil rights law, civil rights gains and problems facing the group.

Intercoder reliability was tested among five people doing coding for the study. The number of subcategory assignments made was divided into the number of agreed-upon assignments. Out of a total of 232 items found in the reliability test, which covered 22% of the issues sampled, intercoder reliability was 82 percent.

Findings

Table 1 shows the volume of coverage, in average column inches per issue by decade, given to each racial group. The table's most noticeable aspect is the overwhelming dominance of news about African Americans, even though in some decades the average number of column inches of news about blacks found was only a few inches. The per issue average of coverage of blacks totaled 268 inches, compared to totals of less than 30 inches each for the other three groups.

The average number of column inches per issue for Asians was less than one inch for four of the seven decades sampled, while Latinos did not appear in measureable amounts during the first two decades sampled and Native Americans did not appear in the 1930s issues sampled.

Table 2 shows the same phenomenon in a different way, as it

shows the number of stories found about each group in each decade. The total number of stories found about African Americans in the seven decades was 570, while the total for each of the other groups was well under 100. Tables 1 and 2 also show similarities in the volume and frequency of coverage of Native Americans and Asian Americans.

Table 3 was constructed to show how and when the volume of coverage of black Americans changed, since so much more coverage of African Americans was found than coverage of the other groups, and because the amount of that coverage climbed, declined and then climbed again in specific years sampled.

The table shows that the sample years 1958, 1970 and 1990 marked significant changes in the amount of coverage of African Americans found. In 1958 the amount of coverage found was four times greater than that found in any of the previous years sampled, and the coverage totals continued to climb through the next decade. After 1970 the coverage declined sharply. The coverage found in 1958 and 1970 accounted for 75 and 76 percent, respectively, of the total coverage found in each of those decades. In 1990 the coverage total again rose steeply, and remained high through 1994.

Tables 4 through 7 illustrate the nature of the coverage of each group, in percentages of total coverage devoted to the various subcategories of coverage in each decade. Table 8 provides an overview of the data presented in Tables 4 through 7. It shows the total average column inches of coverage devoted to

each group over the 60-year period studied, and the percentage of the totals given to each subcategory of coverage.

Table 4, which shows the nature of the coverage of African Americans found, indicates that nearly a quarter of the sparse coverage of black Americans provided in the 1950s issues sampled was of black crime. It also reveals that this type of coverage climbed to over 10 percent of the total coverage found from the 1970s on. Other categories of coverage that received consistent coverage throughout the period studied were outstanding achievements of individuals, political activities, black protest and civil rights gains (which frequently consisted of white leaders calling for justice and integration).

In each decade but one significant amounts of the total coverage were given to discrimination. Interracial violence, which in all but a few stories consisted of whites attacking African Americans, also was covered in each decade but one. These stories frequently involved white police accused of beating or killing a black suspect or prisoner.

Another category of stories covered in each decade except one was black problems. Of the 16 problem stories found, five concerned education available to blacks, four concerned employment, three concerned health, two concerned housing, and one each concerned welfare and crime. Not until early 1994 was a problem story found that took a positive approach and portrayed hope for the situation. Conversely, a 1994 issue also included an Anna Quindlan column on the problem of rape in general that

used, in two of her three examples, a black man raping a white woman.

Beginning in the 1970s numerous stories began to appear about civil rights protests and political activities involving cooperative action by blacks and Latinos, mainly Puerto Ricans. These continued through the 1990s. (It should be noted here that Puerto Ricans comprise the largest Latino population of New York City.) In the 1990s several stories were found about black protests against Korean store owners in New York and black violence against Vietnamese and Koreans. Also in the 1990s appeared the first story of a Latino attack on an African American, and the first accounts of disunity within the black community (over Louis Farrakhan and his ministers).

The nature of the coverage of African Americans over the whole period studied is shown on Table 8, and affirms that the largest volume of coverage was given to stories about political activities, discrimination against blacks, and crime.

Table 5, which shows the nature of the coverage of Native Americans, is noteable mainly for the small amount of coverage found. No items were found in the 1930s issues sampled, only one story each was found in the 1940s and 1980s issues sampled, and the coverage found in the other four decades never averaged more than five inches for the decade.

With so little coverage found, it is difficult to note any patterns. This table seems to indicate, and Table 8 confirms, that the largest amount of coverage of Native Americans--27

percent of the total coverage over the period studied--was of problems facing Native peoples. Of the five problem stories found, two concerned education available to Native Americans, and one each concerned poverty, alcoholism and forced removal of Native children from their parents.

The other largest amounts of coverage went to political activities, Native Americans' relations with the government, and military activities. The latter coverage was mostly a very long article about Native women joining the New Army Corps during World War II.

Unlike the situation with Latinos, who beginning in the 1970s were referred to in general as Hispanics rather than Puerto Ricans or Mexican Americans, the Native Americans were often identified by tribe. In 14 of the 31 stories found, the particular tribal group was named, with the Pueblos, Navajos and Sioux each mentioned twice. This noting of tribal groups may have occurred because the various Native American groups are autonomous nations that have separate treaties with the U.S. government.

Table 6, showing coverage of Latinos, indicates a lack of coverage similar to that found for Native Americans. Less than an inch average of coverage was found in the first three decades and only a few inches found for each of the next three decades. Not until the 1990s did the coverage reach average of 19 inches, a total quadruple that of any of the previous decades. The 34 items found in the 1990s issues coded accounted for half of the

total of 67 items on Latinos found.

Another of the few patterns noticeable in the coverage of Latinos was the large amount of the small total of coverage that was devoted to crimes committed by Latinos. Over the period studied, as Table 8 shows, 38% of the total coverage of Latinos was devoted to news of Latinos as criminals. It should be noted, however, that by far the largest amount of this type of coverage was found in the 1990s issues sampled, and showed Latinos as the victims as well as the perpetrators of the crimes. Both Tables 6 and 8 also indicate that in several of the decades studied, large percentages of the coverage were devoted to community activities and to political activities.

In the 1970s issues sampled, 44 percent of the protest and political stories recorded were of actions taken jointly by African Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York. (This cooperation may have arisen partly because a number of Puerto Ricans are black.) Both the problem stories found, on poverty and AIDS, were of problems shared by blacks and Latinos, according to the stories. Fourteen percent of the total coverage of Latinos found specifically identified Puerto Ricans as the subject of the item.

The Jan. 20, 1994 issue sampled yielded a positive and unusual opinion piece on the Latino victims of the Northridge, CA earthquake. The article portrayed the Latinos helping each other and enduring stoically, while more affluent Anglos who oppose welfare, the story said, were the first in line demanding that

the government help them. An August 1994 issue included another unusual story, of a Latino teenager hitting a black teenager in Los Angeles. This was the first item found that showed bad feeling rather than cooperation between blacks and Latinos.

Table 7 shows the nature of the coverage of Asian Americans found, and indicates that in four of the decades an average of less than one inch of coverage was found. In each decade a large amount of the scant coverage found was devoted to accounts of crimes committed by Asian Americans. Of this crime coverage, 96 percent of it presented Chinese Americans as the criminals.

Only in the 1980s and 1990s were an average of a few inches of coverage of Asian Americans found. In the 1980s issues sampled 39 percent of the coverage was devoted to the one Asian American problem story found, about the isolation of Vietnamese immigrants. In the 1990s two-thirds of the coverage concerned African American boycotts of stores owned by Korean Americans or black violence and animosity toward Asian Americans.

Of the total coverage of Asian Americans found, 80 percent of the items mentioned a specific nationality group. Some 32 percent of the coverage, but only two of the stories, mentioned Vietnamese. Chinese Americans appeared in 27 percent of the coverage, most of it concerning crime, in nine stories. Hawaiians were the topic of 11 percent of the coverage, in only two stories; Koreans were mentioned in 8 percent of the coverage, in four stories; and Japanese Americans were mentioned in 2 percent of the coverage, in three stories.

Table 8 shows that 23 percent of the total coverage of Asian Americans over the period studied was crime news, and a similar amount was accounted for by the one very long story on Vietnamese immigrants. Political activities represented the other large percentage of the coverage.

Discussion

The amount of coverage found on the different racial groups supports Wilson and Gutierrez's earlier-mentioned contention that the mainstream press in the U.S. has presented minqrities as outside, rather than a part of, American society. A corollary belief, Wilson and Gutierrez suggested, was that media managers tended to cover these groups mainly when they cause problems for white society, or have problems. Although the present study found more than just conflict and problems coverage, it did show that until the confrontational events of the Civil Rights Movement commanded press attention to African Americans in the 1950s, 12 million black Americans were largely ignored in the New York *Times*. Since that time, however, the volume of the coverage has increased and the coverage has been much more multifaceted.

Conversely, the other racial groups have been nearly invisible for much of the time period studied. Even Latinos, who received more coverage than the other two groups, did not receive until the 1990s an amount of coverage anywhere near what African Americans got back in the 1950s. Native Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans were, like an earlier researcher said about black

Americans, visible only in glimpses in the New York *Times*, and a reader would have to search hard to catch even these glimpses.

It is not suggested here that the amount of coverage of any racial group should be in direct proportion to the group's share in the general population. It does seem surprising, however, that members of minority groups who are not African American receive such small amounts of coverage in comparison to blacks.

According to the 1990 census, African Americans comprise 12 percent of the U.S. population and total nearly 30 million people. Latinos, an ethnic rather than a racial group, comprise 9 percent and total 22 million. Asian Americans, at seven million, represent 3 percent of the total population, and Native Americans comprise nearly 1 percent at almost two million.[17]

Given these facts, it is surprising that the amount of coverage of Latinos found in this study was so much less than the coverage of African Americans. The number of Latinos in the population is three-fourths the number of African Americans, yet the amount of coverage of Latinos found was less than a tenth the amount found on African Americans. This seems extremely disproportionate.

This finding is also surprising considering the growing Latino population in the states along this nation's southern and western borders, and the growing Asian population on the West Coast and in cities throughout the country. The 1990 census revealed that between 1980 and 1990 the Asian population of the U.S. has increased over 100 percent and the Hispanic population

has grown 50 percent, as compared to 13 percent for the black population and 6 percent for whites.[18] These facts underlie the often-quoted statistic that by the year 2010 one out of every three Americans will be a member of a racial or ethnic minority.[19] Yet it seems that those people are a foreign population for the New York *Times*, despite the fact that the families of millions of them have been in this country as long as, or longer than, our German or Irish or Italian or middle European-descended citizens.

The coverage of African Americans escalated so sharply in 1958 partly because of Sugar Ray Robinson winning the title, and also because of the many stories found about the controversies surrounding school integration in Little Rock. The coverage remained high throughout the 1960s because of similar controversies, like James Meredith enrolling at Ole Miss. But to the New York *Times'* credit, the volume of coverage climbed even higher in the 1970s, when the confrontational aspects of the Civil Rights Movement had largely diminished. This probably is due partly to an increased sensitivity to news about blacks on the part of *Times* managers, and partly because of the presence of many more black journalists in the paper's newsroom. The coverage fell off sharply in the 1980s, but increased to its highest level yet in the 1990s issues sampled, and provided considerable variety in the kinds of topics covered.

Concerning the nature of the news about African Americans, the *Times* offered a clear picture throughout the period studied

of discrimination and violence against blacks, and also provided some coverage in each decade of problems facing black Americans. The paper's continued increased attention to African Americans from the 1970s on, however, has included increased attention to crimes committed by blacks. Another step backward was the 1994 Quindlan column raising the tired old stereotype of black men raping white women. By now it's well documented that the overwhelming majority of rape victims are attacked by men of their own race.

It is interesting to note the theme, present from the 1970s on, of black-Latino cooperation, in stories on protests and politics. A new theme, of black-Asian American hostility, emerged in the 1990s. Some experts on racism suggest that white leaders encourage among whites the belief that society's benefits, such as jobs and housing and social services, are like a pie, and that minorities are competing with whites and with each other for shares of that pie.[20] Without embracing that belief, one nevertheless wonders if the paper's attention to cooperation and hostility among minorities is based upon a unconsciously held stereotype along the lines of the pie image. Emphasis on cooperation among minorities could stem from approval of the groups' cooperating to obtain a larger slice of the pie, while attention to inter-group hostility could reinforce a view of the groups as bad children squabbling among themselves.

The coverage of Native Americans was so sparse that it did indeed provide a picture of these people only in glimpses. Most

noticeable was the attention given to problems facing Native Americans, which reinforces the claim of various researchers that minorities are presented as people outside the mainstream of U.S. society by presenting them as problem people. This kind of coverage accounted for 27 percent of the total coverage of Native Americans, larger than the problem coverage given to any other minority group. It is positive that the paper was willing to explore problems facing Native Americans. But Natives' culture and experiences are broader and more multifaceted than simply their problems, and these other aspects of Native life deserve coverage also. Only Natives' relations with the government and their political activities received similar amounts of attention as the problems coverage did.

It was positive that in the case of both Native Americans and Asian Americans the New York *Times* frequently identified the group by the name by which they wished to be known, like Navajos or Chinese Americans, instead of simply lumping people together into one amorphous group. Making distinctions among the subgroups of larger minority groups is a practice approved of by many minorities.

Latinos also received very small amounts of coverage, although more than Natives and Asian Americans. It seems positive that the coverage climbed so sharply in the 1990s issues studied. Considerably less encouraging is the very large percentage--38 percent--of the coverage devoted to crimes committed by (and in many cases suffered by) Latinos over the

time period studied. Also noticeable was the emphasis, especially in the 1970s issues sampled, on cooperative actions undertaken by African Americans and Purerto Ricans. The positive story about Latino behavior after the Northridge earthquake introduced a rare sympathetic note.

An emphasis on criminal activity also was noted in the small amount of coverage of Asian Americans found. Of the total coverage of these people over the time studied, nearly a quarter was devoted to crime news, and 96 percent of this news involved crimes committed by Chinese Americans. Clearly a stereotype is operating here, and influencing media managers to choose to run crime news involving Chinese Americans. Although other items about Chinese Americans were run, the overwhelming majority of it was about crime.

The emphasis in the 1990s issues sampled on black hostility toward Asian Americans, which accounted for two-thirds of the coverage found in those issues, is a very negative note. Once again the Asian Americans are shown as the "cause" of a problem.

Worthy of note here is the "like attracts like" phenomenon noticed by this researcher during the coding. Frequently the coder would sample scores of issues without finding a single item about Native Americans, say, or about Asian Americans. Then suddenly two or three such items, all unrelated, would appear in one issue. It almost seemed as though wire editors were thinking to themselves, "We've included one item about Native Americans in this issue; now here's another--let's run it too.)

The same phenomenon was noticed in the coding of the 1990 issues, when stories began appearing about African American boycotts of Korean American-owned stores. It seemed as though this situation sensitized editors to the issue of black-Asian American hostility, and the coders began finding stories about black youths attacking a Vietnamese, or about black hostility toward Asian Americans in general.

In contrast to the coverage of Native Americans and African Americans, very little coverage of problems facing Latino or Asian Americans was found. Only two stories, both on problems Latinos share with blacks, were found in the issues coded, and only one story on a problem facing Asian Americans was found.

Conclusions

The New York *Times* coverage of African Americans, although quite sparse during most of the first three decades under study, increased sharply in volume and complexity from 1958 onward, and took another sharp upward turn beginning in 1990.

Coverage of the other three groups was extremely limited. It also was not nearly enough, in either volume or breadth of topics covered, to give white readers any kind of real understanding of the daily lives, the issues and the problems of these people who comprise such large and growing segments of U.S. society. Instead, these groups were largely ignored by the New York *Times* and presented as outside the mainstream of society. As much as one can generalize from such a small amount of

coverage found, Native Americans were presented primarily in terms of their problems. Also, to a smaller extent, they were shown in terms of their relations with the government and in political activities. Latinos were shown with a strong emphasis on crimes committed by Latinos. Less often, they were shown in shared actions and concerns with black Americans. Coverage of both Native Americans and Latinos rose sharply in the 1990s issues sampled.

Asian Americans came off perhaps the worst, in terms of total amount of coverage, a decline in coverage in the 1990s issues sampled, and lack of complexity of coverage. The only topic that received consistent attention throughout the time period studied was crimes committed by Asian Americans, especially Chinese Americans. Asian Americans also showed up in the 1990s coverage as the targets of black boycotts and hostility. This very negative picture in no way represents the reality of Asian Americans' lives in the U.S.

The New York *Times* has provided much more representative coverage of African Americans during the past 35 years. But it clearly still has a long way to go to accurately portray the everyday lives and concerns of the Native Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans who are a large and important part of U.S. society. Not only were these people visible only in glimpses in the issues studied, but their images were badly burred and distorted.

Endnotes

1. It should be noted here that Latinos or Hispanics are defined by language and can be of any race. They are portrayed in this paper as a racial group only because they have long been perceived as one by white American society.

2. Editorial, "Trustee's Holiday Remarks More Than Just Insensitive," *The Herald*, Sharon, PA, 18 January 1995, p. 10.

3. Florence Rebekah Beatty-Brown, "The Negro as Portrayed by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* from 1920 to 1950," Diss. Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1951, pp. 7, 10, 12; see also George E. Simpson, *The Negro in the Philadelphia Press* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press), 1936, pp. 6, 116; Noel P. Gist, "The Negro in the Daily Press," *Social Forces* 10, no. 3 (March 1932), 406-11.

4. Robert L. Latta, "A Content Analysis of News of Black Americans as Presented by the Wichita *Eagle* and a Comparison with Empirical Data," *Journalism Abstracts* 9 (1971), 225; Helen Louise Tatro, "Local News Coverage of Blacks in Five Deep South Newspapers, 1950 to 1970," *Journalism Abstracts* 10 (1972), 336; Paula Johnson, David Sears and John McConahay, "Black Invisibility, the Press and the Los Angeles Riot," *American Journal of Sociology* 76, no. 4 (January 1971), 706-7, 718.

5. Carolyn Martindale, *The White Press and Black America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 79-94; Carolyn Martindale, "Coverage of Black Americans in Four Major Newspapers, 1950-1989," *Newspaper Research Journal* 11, no. 3

(Summer 1990), 102-109.

6. David A. Copeland, "'The Sculking Indian Enemy': Colonial Newspapers' Portrayal of Native Americans," paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication convention, Kansas City, MO, August 1993.

7. John M. Coward, "News and the 'Indian Problem' in the Antebellum Period," paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication convention Washington DC, August 1989; Robert Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), p. 3.

8. Mary Ann Weston, "Native Americans in the News: Symbol, Stereotype or Substance?", paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication convention in Montreal, August 1992; James Murphy and Sharon Murphy, *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1981).

9. L. Sanchez, "Treatment of Mexican Americans by Selected U.S. Newspapers, January-June 1970," thesis Pennsylvania State Univ., 1973; J. Fishman and H. Casiano, "Puerto Ricans in Press," *Modern Language Journal* 53, no. 3 (1969), 157-62; Felix Gutierrez, "Latinos and Public Broadcasting: An Agenda for the 1980s," paper presented at the Latinos in Public Broadcasting Conference, San Diego, January 1980, and "Latinos and the Media in the United States: An Overview," paper presented at the International Communication Association conference, Acapulco, May 1980; Bradley Greenberg et al, *Mexican Americans & the Mass Media*

Table 1
Average number of column inches per issue
of coverage of each racial group, by decades

	1930s N=33	1940s N=52	1950s N=67	1960s N=39	1970s N=61	1980s N=40	1990s N=34	Total
African Americans	2	4	16	51	68	26	101	268
Native Americans		2	1	2	5	1	4	15
Latinos			1	2	2	4	19	28
Asian Americans			1			7	3	11

17

Table 2
Total number of stories found
about each racial group, by decades

	1930s N=33	1940s N=52	1950s N=67	1960s N=39	1970s N=61	1980s N=40	1990s N=34	Total
African Americans	13	22	68	114	147	55	151	570
Native Americans		2	7	4	10	2	6	31
Latinos	3		4	6	7	12	35	67
Asian Americans	1	4	4		1	6	10	26

Table 3
Total column inches and average column inches of coverage of African Americans by years sampled

	Total	Average
1934 N=13	52	4
1938 N=20	17	1
1942 N=24	87	4
1946 N=28	124	4
1950 N=22	157	7
1954 N=19	120	6
1958 N=26	818	31
1962 N=20	808	40
1966 N=19	1199	63
1970 N=21	3165	151
1974 N=21	648	31
1978 N=19	363	19
1982 N=17	486	29
1986 N=23	564	25
1990 N=26	2567	99
1994 N=8	858	107

Table 4
Percentage of average column inches of coverage of African Americans, by subcategories of coverage, by decades

	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Stereotypic							
Crime	24%	3%	2%	3%	13%	15%	15%
Entertainment/Spts.		6%	18%			3%	2%
Everyday Life							
Commun. Activ.			6%	7%	8%	27%	7%
Disasters			8%		2%	4%	1%
Military		10%		3%		1%	
Individ. Achiev.	4%	10%	4%	9%	4%	2%	6%
Culture				1%			4%
Political Activ.	10%	8%	4%	15%	9%	27%	37%
Government		1%	2%		9%	4%	2%
Disunity							1%
Race-Related							
Interracial Violence	7%	7%		2%	8%	3%	6%
Discrimination	13%	32%	16%	21%	25%		6%
Civil Rights Law			23%	5%	3%	3%	
Protest	20%	2%	1%	15%	3%	1%	4%
Gains	14%	10%	16%	13%	14%	1%	2%
Problems	7%	11%		7%	3%	10%	6%
Tot. ave. col. inches	**2**	**4**	**16**	**51**	**68**	**26**	**101**

Table 5
Percentage of average column inches of coverage of Native Americans, by subcategories of coverage, by decades

	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Stereotypic							
Crime			15%				8%
Entertainment/Spts.			24%				
Everyday Life							
Commun. Activ.				21%			
Disasters							
Military		100%	13%				
Individ. Achiev.							
Culture					15%		6%
Political Activ.						100%	37%
Government			29%	8%	37%		
Disunity							
Race-Related							
Interracial Violence							
Discrimination					16%		
Civil Rights Law					6%		
Protest			19%		13%		
Gains							
Problems				71%	12%		49%
Tot. ave. col. inches		**2**	**1**	**1.5**	**5**	**1**	**4**

Table 6
Percentage of average column inches of coverage of Latinos,
by subcategories of coverage, by decades

	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Stereotypic							
Crime	43%		21%	25%		1%	52%
Entertainment/Spts.							
Everyday Life							
Commun. Activ.			79%			52%	4%
Disasters							10%
Military							
Individ. Achiev.				37%			5%
Culture						31%	
Political Activ.	57%			22%	18%	12%	7%
Government							
Disunity							
Race-Related							
Interracial Violence						4%	4%
Discrimination					8%		11%
Civil Rights Law							
Protest				17%	36%		5%
Gains					38%		
Problems							2%
Tot. ave. col. inches	**.28**		**.56**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**19**

Table 7
Percentage of average column inches of coverage of Asian Americans, by subcategories of coverage, by decades

	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Stereotypic							
Crime	100%	26%	51%		100%	20%	11%
Entertainment/Spts.							
Everyday Life							
Commun. Activ.						20%	
Disasters							
Military		28%					
Individ. Achiev.							
Culture							3%
Political Activ.						19%	11%
Government		8%	49%			3%	17%
Disunity							
Race-Related							
Interracial Violence							32%
Discrimination							19%
Civil Rights Law							
Protest		39%					7%
Gains							
Problems						39%	
Tot. ave. col. inches	**.29**	**.39**	**1**		**.28**	**7**	**3**

Table 8
Percentage of total column inches of coverage of four racial groups by subcategories of coverage, over period studied

	African Americans	Native Americans	Latinos	Asian Americans
Stereotypic				
Crime	11%	3%	38%	23%
Entertainment/Spts.	2%	1%		
Everyday Life				
Commun. Activ.	9%	2%	13%	12%
Disasters	2%		7%	
Military	1%	15%		1%
Individ. Achiev.	6%		6%	
Culture	2%	7%	4%	1%
Political Activ.	22%	17%	10%	14%
Government	4%	15%		9%
Disunity				
Race-Related				
Interracial Violence	5%		4%	8%
Discrimination	14%	6%	8%	5%
Civil Rights Law	3%	2%		
Protest	6%	6%	7%	3%
Gains	8%		2%	
Problems	5%	27%	1%	23%
Tot. ave. col. inches	268	15	28	12

"Comparing Portrayal of Women in Black and White Magazines"

Submitted by:

Lillie M. Fears
University of Missouri-Columbia
314-443-8681 (Hm.)
314-882-4898 (Off.)

Submitted to:

The Minorities and Communication (MAC) Student Division

of the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
78th Annual Convention

August 9-12, 1995

Washington, D.C.

Comparing Portrayal of Women in Black and White Magazines

By Lillie M. Fears
University of Missouri-Columbia

Abstract

(75 words)

Studies show that women are underrepresented in some roles and stereotyped in others. This trend is worse for portrayal of black women in that the focus largely has been on white women in white media. This study examines how a black magazine (*Jet*) portrays black women as compared to how a white magazine *(Time)* portrays white women. The evidence shows there are more dissimilarities between *Jet* and *Time* in portrayal than there are similarities.

Introduction

Studies on portrayal of women in the media provide evidence that researchers consider this a topic worthy of ongoing investigation. Research thus far has shown that women are underrepresented in some roles and stereotypically shown in others. However, there appear to have been few examinations of differences between magazines targeted at blacks and those targeted at white audiences. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine these two types of magazines for differences to learn what characterizes portrayal of women in each of these market niches. It is hoped that this study will provide results that can be used as the model for a larger, and more comprehensive study of this type. For the sake of brevity, the terms "black magazine" and "white magazine" will be used throughout the paper when referring to magazines targeted at black audiences and those targeted at white audiences, respectively.

Literature Review

Women in Media Content and Photos. In general, most research on role portrayal of women has focused on white women in white magazines while few studies have examined roles of black women in black magazines. Additionally, there appear to have been few studies that compare the differences between portrayal of women in magazines targeted at black and white audiences as this study offers.

A few studies have shown that men usually outnumber women on most pages and in most photos in newspapers, and men and women are stereotypically clustered in professional and sports roles for men and spouse

roles for women.[1] Jolliffe[2] even found that word choices as opposed to visual role portrayals provided the greatest detail and strongest evidence of gender distinctions. Overall, she concluded that newspaper portrayals of women in other than stereotyped sex roles has shown slight improvement over time. Signorielli[3] found that sex role images of men and women in network dramatic television programming tended to portray men as more powerful and potent than women, and few men were presented as married.

Women in Advertising. Analyses of images in advertisements also fail to show balance in role portrayal. In some cases, even women's magazines have been found to portray women as alluring sex objects.[4] Refreshingly so, some research indicates that in some ways ads in the early 80s more accurately reflect the true diversity of women's social and occupational roles than did those during 1958 and 1970.[5] Also, a study of sexism in British magazine advertising showed that role portrayals underwent some positive change from 1976 to 1982-83, however, the changes were not dramatic.[6] For example, even though some stereotype categories decreased, women were still portrayed as housewives and as concerned with physical attractiveness.

Black Women in Media. Not surprisingly, the popular press also has been criticized for underrepresenting and stereotyping black women. Shepherd[7] found, for example, that black women are usually portrayed as gifted individuals--singers such as Diana Ross or the dancer, Lola Falana. Another stereotype Shepherd noted was that of the perpetual mother--overweight, strong, always cooking and cleaning and putting her family's needs before her own.

Blacks and Whites in Black and White Media. Studies comparing roles of Blacks and Whites in black and white media are as rare as those

examining roles of black women in the media. One analysis of television comedies showed that black female characters were rated as especially low on achievement, succorance, and self-recognition, whereas they rated high on dominance and nurturance. White female characters, on the other hand, were depicted as submissive and helpless. Also, the portrayal of white characters on black programs was negative.[8]

Background

Black-White Differences for Women. A brief discussion of the historical differences between black and white women's socialization in the United States is necessary for offering theories as to why these groups, might be appearing in photographs in the way that they do. Since their existence on this continent, black women have been involved in the workforce. Given the negative stigma of work, it did not appeal to most white women for much of the 19th century, many of whom were poor white women, who felt too proud to work. The gap narrowed significantly by mid-twentieth century. But, one exception still persisted: Most white women worked to attain middle-class status and "retired" once they achieved it. Black women, who were not likely to achieve that status, tended to remain in the labor force even after marriage or the start of a family.[9]

More recent research on black family life and black female sex-role socialization indicates that the ideal and actual roles for black women differ from those of white women, particularly middle class white women.[10] Not surprising, studies also have shown that working mothers have been more acceptable in black families than in white families.[11] Another study indicated that black women have a stronger orientation than do white women toward work and are less likely to leave a position due to familial

concerns or the negative attitudes of their husbands. Also, research has shown that black women were more likely than white women to find their personal identity in the roles of wife and mother, and were more oriented to home. Similarly, another study found black women more likely to be the central figures in the economic lives of their families than are white women. Moreover, research has even shown that women have been central figures in black families across social classes.[12]

Black-White Differences for Men. Cazenave[13] criticizes the literature for its lack of emphasis on the view of black men on the gender related issues affecting black women in America. This void makes it difficult to compare their attitudes to those of white men. Among the few studies that do exist is one conducted to examine masculinity among college students. It found that black men are more traditional and sexist than are white men.[14] Komarovsky suggested that these findings, although drawn from a small sample, were in line with results of a 1972 American Council on Education survey of 188,900 beginning freshmen. Here, it was found that although black men made up 8% of the survey, they constituted 10% of those men with sexist attitudes.[15]

Research Questions

Research shows there are some distinctive differences men's attitudes and in black and white women's attitudes toward women's roles. That is, it is suggested that because research has shown that there are distinctive differences between black and white women's sex-role attitudes, these attitudes likely are shared by journalists within their respective races.

As indicated in the research questions below, the expectation was that dissimilarities would be found between the two magazine types in categories

given the history of how black and white women have been socialized over the years in the United States. Briefly, again, working mothers have been more acceptable in black families than in white families. Also, black women were found more likely than white women to find their personal identity in the roles of wife and mother, and were more oriented to home. And, some research indicates that black men tend to be more traditional and sexist than white men in their attitudes about women. From this data, three specific research questions were explored in this study:

(1) Is the percentage of black women in the black magazine (Jet) in occupational roles greater than percentages for white women in the white magazine (Time)?
(2) Is the percentage of black women in *Jet* in familial roles greater than that for white women in*Time?*
(3) Is the percentage of black women in *Jet* in relational roles greater than that for white women in the white magazine?

Method

Examples of news and feature photos from issues of *Jet* and*Time* were examined. These magazines were chosen because both are nationally distributed to and intended, it seems, for distinctively differing audiences. Nonetheless, they have identical weekly publication dates and similar profiles (See EXHIBIT 1).

EXHIBIT 1

Profiles of Magazines Sampled

Jet

Circulation: 993,830
Frequency: weekly
Ad rate: $13,842

Profile: A national publication geared to the Black audience by focusing on hard news and features including Black history affecting contemporary living. Editorial materials deal with developments in sports, fashion, education, religion, entertainment, and African affairs. Regular issue features include a listing of Black performers appearing on network television each week, a USA people section and a celebrity beat.

Time

Circulation: 4,335,092
Frequency: weekly
Ad rate: $101,000

Profile: Created as the forum to keep readers of all ages informed of national and international news events. Content highlights the weekly key news items. Regular issue features include sections on religion, education, law, the nation, the world, modern living, the press, music and the theater.

Source: Bacon's Magazine Directory, Directory of Magazines Newsletters. 1995 ed. (43. ed.).

A random sample of issues published from January-October 1994 was conducted. This resulted in the analysis of 14 issues per magazine for (28 total) the months of January, May, and September.

Coding Categories. Photos were categorized into one of the following 10 categories as defined by Susan Miller:[16] 1) politician/public official; 2) professional; 3) sports figure; 4) entertainer; 5) socialite/celebrity; 6) activist/advocate; 7) criminal; 8) human interest; 9) spouse, and 10) other. (See EXHIBIT 2 for definitions of categories.). Because the categories are not mutually exclusive, photos were coded into the category representing the primary reason the woman was included in the photo. Photos were restricted to those containing visible females 18 and over.

EXHIBIT 2

Definitions of Role Categories

Politician/Public Official: *portrayed in an official capacity as the holder of any elective, appointive or salaried administrative position in federal, state or local government, or as candidate for any such elective or appointive office.* (Includes salaried and unsalaried elective and appointive administrative positions; judges; all foreign political officials. Does not include superintendents of schools; police chiefs; salaried, non-administrative staff (=professional) or campaign staff (=professional or advocate); socializing or leisure activities.)

Professional: *portrayed in some professional or vocational role.* (Includes artists; military troops and officers; students engaged in academic activities; voluntary application of skills by which the person normally earns a living in a non-paying situation as a public service. Does not include public officials, sports figures or entertainers.

Sports Figure: *portrayed in a professional or non-professional sports activity.* (Includes coaches; trainers; recreational sports. Does not include non-athletic activities by sports celebrities (i.e., socializing, advocacy); team owners or commissioners (=professional).)

Entertainer: *portrayed engaged in professional or non-professional entertainment.* (Includes directors; producers; recreational performances. Does not include non-entertainment activities by entertainment celebrities (i.e., socializing, advocacy); broadcast news persons (=professional).)

Socialite/Celebrity: *portrayed engaged in personal recreation, leisure, socializing.* (Includes beauty contestants and queens; celebrities not engaged in professional activities; attendance at fund-raising social events (charity balls, fashion shows, etc.). Does not include strictly non-recreational political campaign activities; behind-the-scenes charity work if the charity is clearly specified (=advocacy); leisure sports activities.)

Activist/Advocate: *portrayed as a spokesperson, representative or volunteer for some special interest cause, and/or as having deliberately thrust oneself into the public eye or sought publicity for oneself or a cause via a staged event, speech or other activity.* (Includes strikers; litigants; endorsements for products; proselytes. Does not include ordained ministers, priests or rabbis (=professional); "accidental" or human interest newsmakers "discovered" by the media; public service volunteers who apparently did not seek publicity; professionals who serve as spokespersons for their employer-clients (i.e., labor leaders, lawyers).)

Criminal: *portrayed as arrested for, charged with or convicted of breaking the law.* (Includes persons in custody; on trial. Does not include witnesses or persons not formally charged with a crime.)

Human Interest: *portrayed as falling into none of the above categories, and as having been discovered by the media without deliberate intention and as having become newsworthy for one's own activities.* (Includes accident victims; families of accident victims; witnesses; jurors. Does not include persons portrayed as having sought publicity for themselves or special interest causes; spouses of newsmakers; testimony regarding activities related to the person's professional role (=professional).)

Spouse: *portrayed as a newsmaker's spouse; or as making news by getting engaged, married or divorced.* (Includes brides; politicians' spouses; newsmakers or celebrities getting married or divorced. Does not include socialite/celebrity portrayals of politicians' spouses.)

Other: *portrayed in a role other than those described above.* (Includes other relatives of newsmakers (i.e., parents or children); persons portrayed as props for objects (i.e., fashion models, models holding new products or publicizing events).)

Results

The procedure resulted in a total sample of 1,190 photos for *Time* and 1,055 for *Jet*. Of these totals, images or photographs of women were 276 (or 23%) for *Time* and 462 (or 43%) for *Jet*. (See Table 1).

Table 1

Frequencies of Women in Total Photographs

Jet

Total Photos	Images of Women
January = 423	203
May = 340	146
September = 292	113
N = 1,055	N = 462 (43%)

Time

January = 486	114
May = 388	92
September = 316	70
N = 1,190	N = 276 (23%)

As shown in Table 2, women tend to be portrayed more often in *Jet* than in *Time* (n=462 or 43% vs. n=276 or 23%). The majority of categories in this study had higher percentages in*Jet* (6 of 10). These include: politician/public official (8.87% vs. 5.79%), professional (12.99% vs. 11.23%), socialite/celebrity (22.29% vs. 11.96%), activist/advocate (3.25% vs. 0.72%), spouse (12.7% vs. 7.97%), and other (9.96% vs. 3.99%).

Only three of 10 categories showed higher percentages for *Time*. These are: sports figure (6.16% vs. 0.65%), entertainer (29.7% vs. 22.7%) and human interest (22.8% vs. 6.5%).

No images that would classify women as criminals were found in either magazine during this sample period.

Table 2
Frequencies and Percentages of Photos for *Time* and *Jet*

	Time		Jet		
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Ztv
1. Politician/ Pub. Official	16	(5.79%)	41	(8.87%)	-1.52
2. Professional	31	(11.23%)	60	(12.99%)	-0.70
3. Sports Figure	17	(6.16%)	3	(0.65%)	4.44**
4. Entertainer	82	(29.7%)	105	(22.7%)	2.11*
5. Socialite/ Celebrity	33	(11.96%)	103	(22.29%)	-3.50**
6. Activist/Advocate	2	(0.72%)	15	(3.25%)	-2.21*
7. Criminal	0	--	0	--	0
8. Human Interest	63	(22.8%)	30	(6.5%)	6.45**
9. Spouse	22	(7.97%)	59	(12.7%)	-2.02*
10. Other	11	(3.99%)	46	(9.96%)	-2.94**
Total	n=276	(100%)	n=462	(100%)	

$p < .01$** $p < .05$*

Significant Categories. Black women were portrayed as socialites/celebrities more often in *Jet* than white women were in *Time* ($z = -3.50$, $p < .01$), as well as activists and advocates ($z = -2.21$, $p < .05$). Also, images of black women in *Jet* were more prevalent in the spouse ($z = -2.02$, $p < .05$) and other ($z = -2.94$, $p < .01$) categories. However, while the politician/public official and professional categories had higher percentages in *Jet*, neither was found statistically significant.

White women were portrayed as sports figures more often in *Time* than black women were in *Jet* ($z = 4.44$, $p < .01$). Also, images of white

women as entertainers ($z = 2.11$, $p < .05$), and subjects of human interest ($z = 6.45$, $p<.01$) were found more often in *Time* than were those of black women in *Jet*.

Discussion

The category that would have provided the best evidence for the first research question is that of the category 2, professional. Again, while the percentages of women in *Jet* were higher than those for women in *Time*, the comparison was not statistically significant. A temptation here is to suggest that category 5, socialite/celebrity, is a category that includes "working women," particularly if they are shown in photos performing on stage or screen. Like all working women, these women use their incomes to support their families. However, the definitions for celebrity/socialite and professional are mutually exclusive and specify that celebrity means "celebrities not engaged in professional activities." Thus, the socialite/celebrity category cannot be argued as evidence for first research question.

Evidence for the second research question is found in category 9, spouse, which had a higher percentage in *Jet* (12.7%, $z = -2.02$, $p < .05$). Again, this question asks whether the percentage of black women in photos in familial roles was higher than those for white women. In addition, because category 10, other (9.96%, $z= -2.94$, $p < .01$) includes female parents and children, this evidence lends support to the second question. Also, because the percentage for the category 6, activist/advocate, is higher for *Jet* (3.25%, $z = -2.21$, $p < .05$), it also might be argued that because the black woman's socialization is more home-oriented and central in the family than

white women's, her familial involvement is likely to spill over into the community.

Results for *Jet* for the spouse category (12.7%, z=-2.02, p<.05) can be used as evidence to support the third research question which asks whether black women in black magazines are shown in relational roles in greater proportions than white women in white magazines. Certainly, the position of a woman as a spouse is a relational role.

Limitations

As with any content analysis, in this study there was some concern about what portrayals should be placed in some categories. Here, the spouse category came under question in two instances. First, because there was no specific category for portrayals of women defined as girlfriends and/or companions, these individuals were included in this category. Miller, however, limited the category to engaged, married and divorced women. It is suggested that future studies add another category to document women who appear in photos as girlfriends or companions.

Additionally, there was concern over how to classify women who were identified as relatives other than spouses, parents or children (e.g. grandmother, sister, aunt, etc.). In many cases, these women, particularly those that were not famous women, were categorized as "other". Again, research indicates that so much of the socialization of the black woman has been central to the black family, the home and even the community. Thus, perhaps an entire separate category for relatives should be added to help document additional familial roles.

Questions concerning how to categorize a photo containing two or more women was another concern. For example, should individual roles in

a single photo be counted once or twice? Or should a decision be made as to which woman's role will be counted, and then count only her role?

Suggestions for Further Study

It is suggested that future studies using a wider selection of magazine types and larger samples be conducted to analyze roles of women in magazine photos. The following comparisons are suggested, for example, any of which could be adapted to broadcast media:

1. Coverage of black women in white magazines vs. coverage of them in black magazines;

2. Coverage of black women in black magazines vs. coverage of white women in black magazines;

3. Coverage of black women in white magazines vs. coverage of white women in white magazines;

4. Coverage of white women in white magazines vs. coverage of white women in black magazines; and

5. Coverage of women, in general, in white magazines vs. coverage of them in black magazines (this topic resembles most closely what has been proposed in this paper).

It also is suggested that future studies document whether photo captions make comments about a woman's physical characteristics, particularly in categories such as girlfriend/companion, spouse, entertainer, and celebrity/socialite. This would allow for determining if sexism is an issue in portrayal. For example, documentation should be made when a woman is described physically (e.g., beautiful, lovely, drop-dead gorgeous, etc.) in the caption.

Finally, an effort should be made to see if more recent research has been conducted on each group's attitudes toward women's gender roles:

black men, white men, black women and white women. As society changes over time and as men and women's roles change, it is suspected that attitudes will change. If attitudes do change, then it is likely portrayals will reflect the changes. Thus, new research questions would have to be asked.

NOTES

[1] Barbara F. Luebke, "Out of Focus: Images of Women and Men in Newspaper," *Sex Roles* 20 (1989): 121-133. Also see Susan H. Miller, "The Content of News Photos: Women's and Men's Roles," *Journalism Quarterly* 52 (Spring 1975): 70-75.

[2]Lee Jolliffe, "Gender Differentiation in the New York *Times*, 1885 and 1985," *Journalism Quarterly* 66 (Autumn 1989): 683-691. Also see Junetta Davis, "Sexist Bias in Eight Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 59 (Spring 1975): 456-460.

[3]Nancy Signorielli, "Television and Conceptions about Sex Roles: Maintaining Conventionality and the Status Quo," *Sex Roles* 21 (1989): 341-360.

[4] Jill. H. Ferguson, Peggy J. Kreshel and Spencer F. Tinkham, "In the Pages of *Ms.*: Sex Role Portrayals of Women in Advertising," *Journal of Advertising* 19 (1990): 40-51.

[5] Gary L. Sullivan and P.J. O'Connor, "Women's Role Portrayals in Magazine Advertising: 1958-1983," *Sex Roles* 18 (1988): 181-188.

[6]Steven Lysonski, "Role Portrayals in British Magazine Advertisements," *European Journal of Marketing* 19 (1985): 37-55.

[7]Juanita M. Shepherd, "The Portrayal of Black Women in the Ads of Popular Magazines," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 4 (Fall 1980): 179-182.

[8] Pamela T. Reid, "Racial Stereotyping on Television: A Comparison of the Behavior of Both Black and White Television Characters," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 64 (1979): 465-471.

[9] William H. Harris, *The Harder We Run: Black Workers since the Civil War* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1982), 65-182.

[10] For a good summary of black vs. white women's sex-role socialization, see Kathleen M. Blee and Ann R. Tickamyer, "Black-white Differences in Mother-to-Daughter Transmission of Sex-Role Attitudes," *The Sociological Quarterly* 28 (1986): 205-222.

[11]A good example that chronicles black women, work and the family is Jacqueline Jones' *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (NY: Basic, 1985).

[12] Blee and Tickamyer, 205-222.

[13]Noel A. Cazenaze, "A Woman's Place": The Attitudes of Middle-Class Black Men," *Phylon* XLIV (1983): 12-32.

[14]A. Cherlin and P. B. Walters, "Trends in United States Men's and Women's Sex-Role Attitudes: 1972-1978," *American Sociological Review* 46 (1981): 453-60.

[15]M. Komarovsky, *Dilemmas of Masculinity* (New York: Publisher, 1976).

[16]Susan H. Miller, 70-75.

Fourth Census of Minorities in College Media

by

Frances L. Collins
Assistant Professor

Barbara J. Hipsman
Associate Professor

Stanley T. Wearden
Associate Professor

Kent State University
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
Kent, Ohio 44242

Phone (216) 672-2572
FAX (216) 672-4064
E-Mail SWEARDEN@KENTVM.KENT.EDU

ABSTRACT

FOURTH CENSUS OF MINORITIES IN COLLEGE MEDIA: 1994

The Fourth Biennial Census of Minorities in College Media showed a slight overall decline in minority participation in college newspapers, but continued to show an increase in minorities in the top five management positions. The number of minorities in journalism and mass communications schools, recruiting frequency and adviser's race all play significant roles in increasing minority participation. The authors express concern about the effect of an affirmative action backlash on minority participation in college papers.

Fourth Census of Minorities in College Media : 1994

While the American Society of Newspaper Editors is still committed to racial parity in the newsroom, and its census of American newspapers continues to show slight increases in the minority newsroom workforce, (Foote, 1994, April/May) affirmative action and other efforts to proactively increase minority participation are under siege nationwide.

In Washington, Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kansas, and the Republican Congressional majority are pushing for an end to affirmative action. Dole said recently, "After nearly 30 years of government-sanctioned quotas, timetables, set-asides, and other racial preferences, the American people sense all too clearly that the race-counting game has gone too far." (Holmes, 1995, March 16: A1)

And across the country, a California poll showed that residents there want to end affirmative action, possibly enough to place an initiative question on the November 1996 ballot. Gov. Pete Wilson, who, like Dole, is considered a major contender for the Republican presidential nomination, is pushing the idea to prohibit race and gender preference in state hiring and spending. (Wilson: pushing to end programs, 1995, March 29).

And the questioning of affirmative action cuts across party lines, too, as President Bill Clinton also announced that he wasn't opposed to reviewing affirmative action programs to see if they are being fairly applied (Ehrenreich, 1995, March 13).

The debate over the merits of affirmative action has reached into the media industry as well. Society of Professional Journalists 1995 President Reginald Stuart calls the country's commitment to parity "young" and urges the media to take the lead in fair, accurate reporting of the debate. He also issued a strong call in the April 1995 *Quill* for recommitment by the industry to the values of cultural pluralism throughout newsrooms (Stuart, 1995, April).

Stuart said the industry "can't deny this issue (affirmative action) is real in our newsrooms and our industry," adding the news business is "vulnerable" in key areas (Stuart, 1995, April: 50).

"Despite our well-established ability to cite alleged faults of other businesses and industries on racial hiring and discrimination, our track record is less than stellar," Stuart said (Stuart, 1995, April: 50). The American Society of Newspaper Editors study of 1993 employment practices, reported in April 1994, shows about 45 percent of all newsrooms have no minority staff members in the news departments. Stuart also said the ranks of minorities are still small in electronic media, magazine and trade press.

Stuart, also the assistant news editor, Washington bureau, Knight-Ridder, said that while ASNE's goal of racial parity in America's print newsrooms by the year 2000 is being met in some places, "half the members of ASNE are not on board, and the other half are finding it (racial parity) more difficult to achieve

than they thought it would be. While I believe ASNE is still committed as an institution, the leaders and members down the line have to make it work." (Rockmore, 1995 February 11: 17)

The 1994 ASNE employment survey shows 10.49 percent minorities working in America's newsrooms, up from 10.25 percent the previous year (Foote, 1994, April/May). While the increase is small, it is still a great improvement from 1978, the first year ASNE reported minority employment in daily newspapers, when only 3.95 percent of all papers had minorities on staff.

"Newspapers are making slow progress toward achieving more diverse newsrooms," said William Hilliard, ASNE President when the 1994 employment survey was issued. "But every newspaper must remain committed to creating a culturally diverse staff." (Foote, 1994, April/May: 21)

But why should we care if there is a significant minority population at any paper in the country? Why is it imperative to have those voices in a newsroom? Nancy Hicks Maynard, president of Maynard Partners Inc., in a report, "Drumbeat for Diversity," issued at the Unity '94 convention, said the battle for more minority representation in newsrooms isn't about numbers at all. She paraphrases Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a psychologist who provided expert testimony in the Brown v. Board of Education desegregation case, who said the battle for parity is about "who would tell America's story." (Maynard, 1994, September: 2)

Portland *Oregonian* editor Hilliard reminds us that it "was not until the 1970s that newspapers in this country began to reflect the true multicultural makeup of their circulation areas. Keeping in touch with such realities is an ongoing effort. In a democracy such as ours, it is essential that all readers, not just those who are termed minorities, see the myriad faces and colors that make up the population of America." (Maynard, 1994, September: 2)

Gregory Favre, executive editor of the *Sacramento* (Calif.) *Bee* and current president of ASNE, said while the figures have doubled for minorities in America's print newsrooms, that is "below where we had hoped to be or should be...to make sure our newspapers represent the world in which we live.

"It's clear that diversity in our ranks and in our news and editorial columns will improve the quality and value of what we do." (Favre, 1994, September: 2)

SPJ President Stuart agrees.

"The country is changing in social fabric, in demographics, in so many ways. To report it accurately and fairly, we need to grasp the little nuances that become trends. When we're not in touch, we're out of touch," Stuart said. "The paucity of minority-hiring affects coverage practices. A lot of newspapers are still not interested in covering poor and minority communities on a regular basis. This segment of the population is shunted aside, so the poor and disenfranchised still have a difficult time connecting with the news media, and the news media

have a difficult time connecting with them." (Rockmore, 1995, February 11: 17)

And so, should it be any different for college newspapers? Should they not be expected to have integrated staffs to encourage not only broader coverage of audiences but to train young staff members in inclusion and feed those staffers into the commercial press?

Research Questions

This study has three primary research questions. First: Has minority participation on college newspapers at ACEJMC-accredited universities increased since last examined in 1992? Second: Has the percentage of minority students in the top five positions changed since the last Census of Minorities in College Media? Third: What factors might influence minority participation on campus newspapers?

Method

The Census of Minorities in College Media was conducted with underwriting from the *Akron Beacon Journal* and Kent State University and the support of the Minorities and Communication Division of AEJMC and the Journalism Education Association. It focuses on the mainstream newspapers at the 97 schools accredited by the Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication in fall 1994. (Howard University has two separate units ACEJMC-accredited, making the total number of units 98.)

The papers' editors and advisers were sent copies of the census questionnaire with return envelopes in October 1994. The editor received a follow-up letter and phone call(s) if the questionnaire was not returned. Other top-ranking editors, the adviser or paper administrator were sought for response if the editor was unavailable. Interviews were conducted by the research team members or graduate students of the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Kent State University from November 1994 through March 1995.

The questionnaire replicated all items from the Third Census of Minorities in College Media (Wearden, Hipsman & Greenman, 1993) Several factors continue to justify the focus on the accredited schools:

Enrollment - While the 97 schools are just 23.5 percent of all four-year schools in the 50 states that offer journalism, they historically enroll more than 50 percent of all journalism majors, according to a Dow Jones Newspaper Fund study conducted by Ohio State University (Dow Jones Newspaper Fund, Inc., 1994).

Professional standing - These schools tend to dominate the professional field and are looked to for teaching, research and professional service.

Role of Standard 12 - The schools, if not the student newspapers, have to contend with the Accrediting Council's Standard 12, which, among other things, forces the schools to provide a plan for recruitment and retention of minority students to retain accreditation (ACEJMC, 1994). Thus, the schools are

attuned to the minority issue. Faculty and administrators may not be able to control practices at the often independently operated papers, but they should be able to at least influence the pool of interested candidates - and to promote an environment for multi-cultural acceptance.

Editorial reach - Another reason for studying these papers is their editorial reach and potential impact. The staffs range in size from 8 to 194, with an average staff size of 66 and a median of 50.5 staffers. Sixty-one papers publish four to seven times weekly, making them dailies by college newspaper definition. The total combined circulation for the 97 newspapers at the schools studied is 1.253 million, and the average circulation is 13,338, with a range of 2,000 to 35,000.

Results and Discussion

Ninety-six of the 97 college newspapers at institutions with ACEJMC accreditation responded to the census, although it took as many as six attempts in some cases to elicit a response. After repeated attempts, Oklahoma State University was the one school that did not respond. The possible biasing effect of that one non-response is unknown.

Out of 6,351 students nationwide working at the newspapers polled in 1994, 1,001, or 15.8 percent, were reported as being racial minorities. This percentage has dropped by 1.5 percent since the 1992 census. In fact, this was the lowest overall percentage in the history of this census. It was a full percent

lower than the overall percentage for the first year of the census (1989), and it marked the first time the overall percentage has dropped rather than increasing from the previous year. But it should be noted that the figure actually has remained quite steady at 16 percent to 17 percent since 1989. Gains in the past have been minuscule. The apparent decline in this year's overall percentage, then, may simply be a slight statistical variation in a nearly constant figure. Perhaps the best way to interpret these findings over time is to say that, while there has been no decline in minority participation, there has been no increase either. And, if one considers the growth of the minority population overall in the United States, this flat figure for minority participation in college newspapers might better be interpreted as a real decline (see appendix for a tabular comparison of census years).

Three of the schools reported having no minorities at all on staff. When the four Historically Black Colleges (Howard University, Jackson State University, Florida A&M University and Grambling State University) and the University of Hawaii (which has an enrollment of 65 percent racial minorities) were removed from the calculation, the overall percentage of minorities on staff dropped to 13.2 percent.

On the other hand, the percentage of minorities working in the top five positions, as defined by census respondents, increased from 18.3 percent in 1992 to 20.4 percent in 1994. This figure has nearly doubled since 1989 (12.8 percent), the

first year of the census. With the Historically Black Colleges and the University of Hawaii removed from the 1994 calculation, the 20.4 percent figure dropped to 16.6 percent, which also was higher than any other year since the inception of the census. Twenty-one of the top editors at college newspapers were minorities in 1994, the highest number in the top position since the census began. Of those, six were African-American, one was Asian-American, 10 were Hispanic, one was Native-American, and six were reported as "other," which often was used to indicate students of mixed racial heritage.

Factors Influencing Participation of Racial Minorities

The Pool of Available Minority Students in the JMC-school

Data on minority enrollment in JMC programs reported in the Dow Jones Newspaper Fund's 1994-1995 Career and Scholarship Guide were input to the census data (Dow Jones Newspaper Fund, Inc., 1994). As in previous years, this proved to be the strongest predictor of minority participation in college newspapers ($r=.828$, $p<.001$) and of minority involvement in the top five positions at the newspapers ($r=.677$, $p<.001$). This suggests that the real key to minority involvement in college newspapers is aggressive recruitment of minorities by schools of journalism and mass communication.

This finding is reinforced by some data on the relationship between region of the country, pool of available minorities and

minority participation at college newspapers. The U.S. census regions with the highest minority enrollments (ANOVA, $F_{(3,92\ df)}$= 3.24, p=.026) in their JMC programs in 1994 were the West (average minority enrollment of 22.67 percent) and the South (21.13 percent), followed by the Northeast (16 percent) and the Midwest (7.93 percent). This is almost perfectly paralleled by an examination of the effect of region on minority participation at the newspaper (ANOVA, $F_{(3,\ 92\ df)}$=3.1, p=.031), which shows the South (26 percent) and West (22 percent) leading the Northeast (21 percent) and the Midwest (9 percent). A look at the effect of region on minority participation in the top five slots at college newspapers (ANOVA, $F_{(3,92\ df)}$=2.85, p=.042) shows a very similar pattern: West, 29 percent; South, 26 percent; Northeast, 24 percent; Midwest, 10 percent.

This suggests a "trickle-down effect" that may have important implications for JMC programs and for the college newspapers that are affiliated with them: The pool of minorities available in a given region of the country predicts the percentage of minorities enrolled in a JMC program, which, in turn, predicts the percent of minorities on the college newspaper staff and in the top five positions. This also may have important implications for enforcement of ACEJMC Standard 12.

The Role of the Adviser

Twenty of the advisers at newspapers responding to the census are members of racial minorities. Their mere presence appears to have a significant impact on minority participation.

The race of adviser variable was collapsed to two groups, white and non-white, and t-tests were run to explore the effect of this variable on minority participation. Minority advisers are significantly more likely to have minorities on staff ($t_{(88\ df)}$= 3.10, P=.05) and significantly more likely to have minorities working in the top five positions ($t_{(90\ df)}$=2.84, P=.04).

Recruitment and Racial Sensitivity

Although a t-test showed that the mere fact that a newspaper reports that it recruits minorities did not have a significant effect on actual minority participation, the frequency with which a newspaper is involved in recruitment activities did have a significant effect. Fifty-four (57.4 percent) of the respondents indicated that their papers actively recruit minorities. These respondents were then asked if they recruit once a year, once a semester, once a month, once a week, or on an ongoing basis. Frequency of recruitment was significantly and positively correlated with percentage of minorities on staff (r=.244, p=.02) and with percentage of minorities in the top five positions (r=.225, p=.03). This is reinforced by the finding that the strongest single predictor of minorities in the top five positions at the paper was the overall percentage of minorities on staff (r=.841, p<.001). If college newspapers are successful in recruiting minorities to the staff, they will be more likely to see these students rise to the management level.

Forty of the newspapers reported holding workshops on racial sensitivity during 1994. Eight held these once during the year;

25 held them once per semester, and six held them on an ongoing basis. Neither the fact of holding such workshops nor the frequency with which they were held had a significant effect on minority participation. That does not suggest that such workshops have no worth. Their primary purpose is not recruitment but increased racial sensitivity, which was not measured by this census. There was, however, no statistically significant relationship between holding racial sensitivity workshops and the newspapers' level of involvement in racial tension on campus.

Racial Tension

The researchers were temporarily surprised to discover that level of racial tension on campus was positively correlated with both the percentage of minorities on staff ($r=.291$, $p=.005$) and the percentage of minorities in the top five positions ($r=.346$, $p=.001$). That is, as racial tension on campus increases, minority participation on the college newspaper appears to increase as well. Further testing, however, showed that this was a function of the relationship between the overall percentage of minorities in the JMC program and the level of racial tension on campus. Campuses with more minority students are, not surprisingly, significantly more likely to experience racial tension ($r=.228$, $p=.026$).

On the other hand, as newspaper involvement in campus racial tension decreases, the percentage of minorities on staff increases ($r=-.331$, $p=.001$) as does the percentage of minorities

in the top five positions (r=-.280, p=.006). This may be a reciprocal relationship. It may be equally true to say that as minority participation on college newspapers increases, the likelihood of newspapers becoming involved in racial conflicts on campus decreases. There was no statistically significant relationship between race of the adviser and newspaper involvement in racial tension.

Respondents also were asked how often during the past year there had been racial tension among staffers in the college newsroom itself. There was no correlation between this variable and level of minority participation, although virtually all the respondents said they never (70.8 percent) or rarely (18.9 percent) witnessed such internal tension.

Minority Publications on Campus

As in the 1992 census, slightly more than half (53.1 percent) the respondents reported that there was a minority-oriented publication on campus. Although the mere fact of the existence of such a publication was not statistically related to minority participation in the campus newspaper, there was a significant relationship between the number of newspaper staffers also working for a minority publication and the percentage of minorities on staff (r=.489, p=.001). A similar correlation was found between the number of staffers also working for the campus minority publication and the percentage of minorities in the newspapers' top five slots (r=.371, p=.012). Thus there is some evidence that minority publications and traditional campus

newspapers feed each other. One may help to ensure the health of the other in terms of numbers of minority students who decide to get involved.

Conclusion

The 1994 Census of Minorities in College Media shows that college newspapers have more than 50 percent more participation by minorities (15.8 percent) than do their commercial colleagues (10.49 percent). Given the latest shift in the affirmative action debate, what will happen on the college scene if federal law no longer mandates that academia should actively recruit minority enrollment? Will the industry suffer a double whammy because the number of minority graduates in journalism may dwindle?

Central to the debate here is how much university recruiting would be affected if affirmative action laws were relaxed. The results of the 1994 Census of Minorities in College Media imply that recruitment works. And so it stands to reason that if fewer minorities are recruited into the university because it isn't "required," there would be fewer minorities participating in a seminal newspapering experience that so many newspapers look for in hiring news staff. That would further hinder a commercial paper's ability to reflect its community in staffing and, as Hilliard and Favre caution, reflect it in coverage as well.

Another new wrinkle surfaced in this year's census. More and more, editors could not or would not categorize minority staffers into a specific race. Many of those in the "other"

category were of mixed race or could not be identified by ethnic background other than "non-white." This issue may prove more significant in future studies for the authors and others.

Finally, the significance of recruitment cannot be overlooked as a major factor in this study. The finding that if there is a larger pool of minorities to draw from, there will be more minorities on the newspaper staff is not unusual. But this year, statistical significance was found for the effect of race of the adviser as well. If the adviser was a person of color, the paper was more likely to have a higher percentage of minority staffers and minority student managers. If more faculty members who are minorities were appointed to advise the papers, would there be more minorities across the board on staff, and also, would there be less tension on staff and fewer incidents where paper is involved in racial tension on campus? This finding regarding advisers also reinforces the long-held belief that students of color need, and will turn to, role models in the professoriate. The 1994 census results seem to suggest that minority students may feel more comfortable in an environment where mentoring is available from a person with a similar background of ethnic and racial experience.

References

Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. (1994-1995). Accredited journalism and mass communication education. Lawrence, KS.

Dow Jones Newspaper Fund, Inc. (1994-1995). The Journalists road to success: A career and scholarship guide. Princeton, N.J.

Ehrenreich, B. (1995, March 13). Planet of the white guys. Time, p. 114.

Favre, G. (1994, September). Unity '94 changed peoples' minds on what is possible -- and what remains to be done. ASNE Bulletin, p. 2.

Foote, C.F. (1994, April/May). Minority, total newsroom employment shows slow growth, 1994 survey says. ASNE Bulletin, pp. 20-25.

Holmes, S.A. (1995, March 16). Programs based on sex and race are under attack. The New York Times, pp. A1, A25.

Maynard, N.H. (1994, September). A 'polite revolution' broadened the voices that tell America's story: But in 1978, continuing the struggle required taking a lot of risks. ASNE Bulletin, pp. 24-25.

Rockmore, M. (1995, February 11). How are papers treating black journalists. Editor & Publisher, pp. 16-17.

Stuart, R. (1995, April). Political leaders test resolve on affirmative action: Rectifying years of racial inequality not that simple. Quill, p. 50.

Wearden, S.T., Hipsman, B.J. & Greenman, J.F. (1993). Third Census of Minorities in College Media. Minorities Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Wilson: pushing to end programs. (1995, March 29). USA Today Newsline, pp. 8-9.

APPENDIX

COMPARISON OF CENSUS FINDINGS, 1989 TO 1994

YEAR	1989	1990	1992	1994
PERCENTAGE OF MINORITIES ON STAFF ALL NEWSPAPERS IN THE CENSUS	16.8%	16.9%	17.3%	15.8%
PERCENTAGE OF MINORITIES ON STAFF WITH HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII REMOVED*	12.8	13.2	13.9	13.2
PERCENTAGE OF MINORITIES IN THE TOP FIVE POSITIONS, ALL NEWSPAPERS IN THE CENSUS	12.8	15.4	18.3	20.4

*The Historically Black Colleges with ACEJMC accreditation in 1994 were Howard University, Jackson State University, Florida A&M University and Grambling State University.

Paper Presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1995 Convention, Minorities in Communication Division

BRINGING MULTICULTURALISM TO JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION PROGRAMS:

A Study of the Uses and Functions of Multicultural Committees

By

Toni Coleman (Grad Student)

and

Lawrence Soley (Faculty Member)

Marquette University

College of Communication

Milwaukee, WI 53233

BRINGING MULTICULTURALISM
TO JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION PROGRAMS:
A Study of the Uses and Functions of
Multicultural Committees

Abstract

This study presents a survey of journalism school administrators, who were queried about whether their units had committees dedicated to multicultural issues and diversity. Only 16.67 percent reported that they had such committees. A follow-up survey, sent to the chairs of these committees and a control group of administrators, showed that the committees had little power, and few had actually developed multicultural courses or acquired materials for use in classes. Overall, little is being done to bring a multicultural perspective to journalism education.

At the 1990 AEJMC convention, concern was voiced about the news media's ability to present fair and accurate news about minorities. Conference attendees noted that as the U.S. evolved into a multicultural society, the news media's composition and stereotypical presentation of minorities showed that the media were not keeping up with these changes. A panel suggested that college journalism and mass communication programs require cultural and cross-cultural course work to insure that future journalists are prepared for a multicultural society. One way to achieve this, a panel member observed, was to give high priority to recruitment, scholarships, journalism workshops and culturally-related events (Stein, 1990).

While journalism and mass communications programs at predominantly white universities need to adopt a multicultural approach to education, there has also been a push to strengthen the quality of journalism education at historically black institutions. The Association of Black College Journalism and Mass Communications Programs is leading the effort by encouraging professional journalists to teach at black universities, and working to increase the number of accredited journalism programs at historically black institutions (Fitzgerald, 1992).

A study by Liebler (1993) found that predominantly black colleges are making a considerable effort to integrate the journalism field, conferring 22.6 percent of the total number of degrees conferred on black students, while non-black universities are lax in their efforts to integrate undergraduate journalism

programs. Of the degrees conferred at predominantly white institutions, 5.1 percent of recipients were black, 2.4 percent Hispanic, 2.1 percent Asian, and .3 percent Native American, well below minority representation in the general population. Liebler (1993) also showed that other college programs, such as social sciences and psychology, were better integrated than the journalism programs.

Diversity within the journalism profession depends on applicants graduating from journalism programs. For this reasons, Kern-Foxworth and Miller (1993) conducted a survey study of journalism and communication schools to determine how successful journalism programs were in bringing a multicultural perspective to their curricula, and increasing minority enrollment at predominantly white university programs.

Their survey of 300 ACEJMC accredited journalism programs, which had a response rate of 53 percent, suggested that little progress was made between 1982 and 1991. Although 71 percent of the 160 respondents felt that an increase in recruitment and retention efforts of minority students was very important, and 68 percent felt it important to recruit and retain minority faculty, few colleges had explicit programs to achieve these goals. At least 48 percent of the schools did not sponsor a minority communications organization, and only 5.7 percent offered a minorities and the media course. The rarity with which a minorities and media course was offered is explained by the attitudes of the respondents -- only 36 percent felt that a multicultural course addressing issues of diversity, sensitivity

and stereotypes was important.

Programs that are known to effect minority student retention were even rarer. About 62 percent of the schools failed to offer counseling, 76.3 percent failed to offer tutoring, and 91.4 percent failed to support study groups for minority students (Kern-Foxworth and Miller 1993).

Kern-Foxworth and Miller (1993) expected multicultural journalism education to be improved from 1982. However, they found "that the status of multicultural education has deteriorated rather than proliferated during the decade under investigation, 1982-1991." Among other recommendations to integrate journalism programs, the authors suggested that schools create a multicultural affairs committee that would provide recruitment and retention support and programming for multicultural students and faculty. The purpose of a multicultural affairs committee is to ensure that diversity goals are set, and to see to it that efforts are made to achieve these goals -- something that has been consistently lacking at a majority of journalism schools.

The purpose of this study is to determine whether journalism and communication departments have established multicultural committees to establish and implement diversity goals, as Kern-Foxworth and Miller (1993) suggested. The study also compares schools with and without cultural diversity committees to see whether the committees do help in setting and achieving goals, as Kern-Foxworth and Miller (1993) suggested they should.

METHOD

The study was conducted in two steps. First, a survey study of the deans and chairs of journalism schools and colleges of communication was conducted, inquiring as to whether their unit had a multicultural curriculum committee within it. If the college or department had such a committee, the administrator was asked to identify the committee chair. Second, a different questionnaire was later sent to the heads of these committees (and a randomly selected control group of administrators), asking them about the efforts to diversity the curriculum within their administrative units.

In the first stage, a self-administered questionnaire was mailed to the deans of colleges of communication, the directors of schools of journalism, and the chairs of departments of journalism listed in the 1993-1994 *Journalism and Mass Communication Directory* published by AEJMC. When a university listed several administrative units, as did California State University at Chico and the University of Southern Mississippi, the questionnaire was sent to the ranking administrator. In these cases, it was the dean of the college and director of the school, respectively. Questionnaires were not sent to the heads of English Departments or other non-communication departments, such as at Southern Louisiana University, Black Hills State University, and Eastern Michigan University, even though they are listed in the directory as teaching journalism courses.

The cover letters and questionnaires, in the form of a self-addressed, stamped postcards, were sent to 370 administrators.

The cover letter explained that we were "conducting a study of the efforts made by journalism and communication departments to diversify their curriculum." The cover letter asked the administrators to complete "a very short questionnaire concerning multiculturalism in communication curricula," and asked them to return it to us.

The questionnaire asked respondents to identify their institution, and then asked, "Does your school/department/sequence of journalism/mass communication have a multicultural committee, as opposed to an affirmative action committee, that examines ways to integrate multicultural issues in the curriculum?" The respondents were asked to answer "yes" or "no" to this question and, if they answered "yes," to identify the chair of the committee.

Four months after the initial questionnaires were sent out, a second cover letter, questionnaire and SASE was mailed to every individual identified by their administrator as the head of a committee concerned with curriculum diversity. The cover letter explained how their name was obtained, and stated that "we would like more information about your committee, its mission, its activities, and the execution of committee decisions." The cover letter asked the identified individuals to complete the questionnaire and "return it to us at your earliest convenience."

The questionnaire asked respondents to identify their institution and the proper name of their committee. Open-ended questions about the mission, powers and budget of the committee followed. Respondents were also asked about the "topics or

issues" that the committee addressed, and the "programs or changes that [the] committee has initiated" within the curriculum. Lastly, respondents were asked about "materials, such as books, videos and other classroom aides," that the committee had purchased, and to evaluate them.

At the same time that these questionnaires were sent to the committee chairs, a similar cover letter and questionnaire was sent to administrators at universities that did not have multicultural committees. These questionnaires also asked about "topics or issues concerning multiculturalism that your faculty has discussed at faculty meetings," "the programs or changes that concern multiculturalism" that were instituted in the administrator's unit, the budget available "for purchasing multicultural materials, such as books and videos," and how they evaluated these materials.

RESULTS

Of the 370 questionnaires initially mailed to communication and journalism administrators, 246 were returned, for a 66.46 percent response rate. Of the 245 responses, 205 (or 83.33 percent) reported that they did not have multicultural or curriculum diversity committees. Only 40 (or 16.67 percent) reported that they did.

Questionnaires were then sent to the multicultural committee chairs at the 40 universities, and to a control group of administrators at 40 others. Of the 80 questionnaires sent, only 21 were returned, producing a response rate of just over 25 percent (see Table 1). Twelve of the responses were from the

chairs of multicultural committees and nine were from

Table 1

	responses	no responses
With committee	12	28
Without committee	9	31

administrators at universities without multicultural committees. The differences in the response rates were not significantly different (x^2 = .58, d.f. = 1).

Of the twelve responses, two denied the existence of a multicultural committee in their department, suggesting that at these institutions, the committees are just on paper. At the ten institutions with functioning multicultural committees, the committees merely have advisory powers; none have the power to change curricula.

The missions of the committees were to "promote sensitivity to minorities and women in journalism," "promote interest and participation in diversity programs," "recruit minority faculty and students," and "promote the development of multicultural courses." Of the ten, only three reported that they had actually developed a multicultural course, and only at one of these universities was the course made a requirement.

Two of the ten chairs reported that their committees had developed a reference list of reading and audio-visual materials, brought multicultural speakers to their school, and were involved in "course enrichment" and "infusing" multicultural issues into the curriculum, although what this entailed was never described.

At Brigham Young University, the college developed an exchange program with a predominantly minority university, a high school program for minorities, including workshops, scholarships, and mentoring. The University of Texas at Austin reported that it was involved in the publication of a minority newspaper and offered "five courses (three undergrad, two grad) dealing specifically with multicultural and/or women's issues."

Of the nine responding administrators at universities without multicultural committees, five stated that they had initiated "informal" efforts to diversify the curriculum. At department meetings, one school said they discussed the integration of multicultural material into classes, another discussed student recruitment, and another discussed the need for a more ethnically diverse faculty. One school discussed involvement in a campus-wide retention program for minority students and promoted faculty participation at campus-wide cross-cultural programs.

Few actual changes were actually initiated within the curricula of schools that did not have multicultural committees. Only one school without a committee offers a multicultural course and recruits multicultural guest lecturers, and one school reports that it infuses multiculturalism into some of its courses by utilizing "non-western attitude theories and international case studies." One school is developing a course on women and the media, while the others simply encourage faculty to integrate multicultural issues into their courses.

Both groups, the universities with multicultural committees

and those without, were asked if they had a budget for purchasing materials, such as books and videos, that would help the faculty integrate multicultural issues into the curriculum. Only three schools had specific budgets that would help integrate multiculturalism into courses, suggesting that schools are not dedicated to this mission, particularly when it comes to money.

When asked to provide a list of their multicultural classroom materials and an evaluation of these, only one school with a committee and one school without provided an actual list. One simply reported that they had "good stuff," and another reported they had "good material," but did not provide a list or even one example.

CONCLUSION

Kern-Foxworth and Miller (1993) suggested that the development of a multicultural affairs committee at journalism programs would be the starting point in integrating journalism programs, thereby integrating the journalism field. As we move toward a multicultural society, journalism programs still fail to produce graduates who can function in such a society. As the research shows, 83.33 percent responded that they did not have a multicultural committee that could ensure that diversity goals are set and achieved.

When a more extensive probe of the schools with committees was done with a follow-up questionnaire, the response rate was incredibly low, 12 out of 40. When the control group of schools without committees were asked what they did to integrate multiculturalism in the absence of a diversity committee, the

response rate was again very low, 9 our of 40. If the response rate of a survey is a measure of interest, then journalism programs exhibit little interest in the topic of diversifying the communications curricula.

Furthermore, schools with committees listed a profusion of goals for the multicultural committee, but with only advisory powers, but few of these goals were being met. The impact of these committees are minuscule, as shown by the rarity of multicultural communications courses, the deficiency of a budget and lack of multicultural materials used to integrate courses. Overall, journalism programs are doing little to promote multiculturalism.

Bibliography

Fitzgerald, Mark (1992, October 3). Black colleges look to improve j-schools. Editor and Publisher p. 17.

Kern-Foxworth, Marilyn and Miller, Debra A. (1993). Multicultural journalism education revisited: 1982-1991. *Journalism Educator* 48 (2), 46-55.

Liebler, Carol M. (1993). The patterns of diversity in the student body. *Journalism Educator* 48 (2), 27-33.

Stein, M. L. (1990, September 1). The multicultural approach. *Editor & Publisher*, pp. 12-13.

News from the Homeland for Immigrants and Minorities in America: An Examination of International News Coverage by ABC, CBS and NBC — 1990-1993

by
Nilanjana Roy Bardhan
Ph.D. Student
E.W. Scripps School of Journalism
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio 45701-2979
614/593-2591

Submitted to the Minorities and Communication Division
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Annual Convention, Washington, D.C., August 9-12, 1995

ABSTRACT

Ethnic immigrant and minority groups in America tend to maintain ties with their lands of origin. This content analysis examines to what extent ABC, CBS and NBC newscasts provided these groups with news from their original homelands from 1990 to 1993.

The findings show that immigrants and minority groups from all world regions received mostly conflict and negative news about their homelands. Asian immigrants and those from the Pacific regions received the most positive coverage from their homelands while immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa received the least news. Also, contrary to the findings of some similar studies, Western Europe was not given maximum coverage among all world regions.

Although the units of analyses for the study were stories and not the number of seconds devoted to international coverage, the results indicate that all three networks devoted between 35% and 40% of their total stories to foreign news.

News From the Homeland For Immigrants and Minorities in America: An Examination of International News Coverage by ABC, CBS and NBC — 1990-1993

America, like Australia and Canada, is a land of immigrants and perhaps just with the exception of Native Americans, almost the entire population of the nation comprises immigrants and descendents of immigrants hailing from all parts of the world (Jones, 1992).

With the American Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and the influx of immigrants from non-Anglo-Saxon world regions such as Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia, the Anglo-Conformist and melting pot assimilation theories, constructed in order to facilitate the creation of a homogeneous American culture, no longer held any ground (Dinnerstein and Reimers, 1975). Through a poetic musical metaphor affirming cultural diversity within a whole, Kallen (1974) encapsulates the phenomenon of enduring ethnic identities and ties which persist among various multicultural groups in America:

> As in an orchestra, every type of instrument has its specific timbre and tonality, founded in its substance and form; as every type has its appropriate theme and melody in the whole symphony, so in society each ethnic group is the natural instrument, its spirit and culture are its theme and melody, and the harmony and dissonances and discords of them all make the symphony of civilization, . . . (Kallen, 1974).

The resurgence of the issue of ethnic identity in America in the 1960s made it clear that the American society was composed of too many culturally diverse groups, and that it was nigh impossible to strip immigrants of their culture, language and history and expect them to completely give up their ethnic identities in order to fuse into the homogeneous melting pot (Meister, 1974). Although immigrants assume exterior semblances of American cultural values in order to operate efficiently according to the accepted norms of larger society, they retain

individual traits of cultural identity. This, in turn, gives rise to the "salad bowl" effect where the impression conveyed is that of a larger whole but each component has distinctive qualities (D'Innocenzo and Sirefman, 1992).

Purpose of Study

Ethnic immigrant and minority groups in America maintain ties with their native culture and homelands in order to maintain an identity and for economic, political and other reasons. As a result, they need a certain amount of news, placed within specific cultural contexts, from their lands of origin (Marzolf, 1973).

Does the mainstream American media recognize the fact that ethnic immigrant groups need news from their native lands? How often does the mainstream media cover news from other world regions? Are the world regions covered commensurate with the regions from which the majority of the immigrants hail? In what light are the different world regions cast by the mainstream American media? Are some regions ignored while others are given an inordinate amount of coverage?

These are the research questions this study addresses. The medium selected to investigate these questions was mainstream U.S. network television — ABC, CBS and NBC. The rationale behind selecting this medium is that television has penetrated 99.9% of U.S. households and is the most important source of news, information and entertainment for the American public. Also, according to Nielson ratings, several minority and immigrant ethnic groups have higher television viewership rates than non-Hispanic whites (O'Hare, 1992).

This study, which is a content analysis, examined the "news from the homeland," or international news content of the early evening newscasts of the three major networks for the period January 1990 to December 1993. The Kerner Commission report of 1967 made specific recommendations to the mainstream American media to increase minority employment and news content relevant to

minority and ethnic groups (Marzolf and Tolliver, 1977). Since coverage of news from their lands of origin is relevant to minority and immigrant groups, this study aims to investigate, for the period specified, to what extent mainstream network television newscasts have made the effort to fulfil this need.

Literature Review

Immigration and ethnicity in America — the Four Waves

Immigration, upto date, has occurred in four waves in America. The first wave, which lasted from 1790 to 1820, included mainly the British settlers, African slaves, the Scots, Irish, Germans, Dutch, French and Spanish. The second wave, which lasted from 1820 to 1860, comprised mainly the Germans, British and the Irish. The third wave, which lasted from 1880 to 1914, included southern and eastern Europeans, the Chinese, Japanese and other Asian immigrants (Martin and Midgley, 1994).

Most of the above groups made initial attempts to cling on to their original cultures. For instance, the nineteenth century German immigrants had their specific newspapers, orchestras, beer-gardens, schools and churches (Martin and Midgley, 1994). However, assimilation into a nearly homogeneous culture was possible to a great extent among these groups since the majority of them hailed from European Anglo-Saxon cultures and didn't find the change too radical (Fairchild, 1974).

After the change in the immigration laws in 1965, the majority of the immigrants came from Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and Africa (Morganthau, 1995), contributing to what is known as the "browning of America" (O'Hare, 1992). The trend continues, and complete assimilation into the mainstream American culture is difficult for these fourth wave immigrants since their ethnic cultures and religions differ so vastly from the broad European cultures (Jones, 1992).

Theories of assimilation

According to Gordon (1964), the endeavor to assimilate immigrants into the broad American culture has lived through three distinct phases — Anglo-Conformity, the melting pot theory and cultural pluralism.

The Anglo-Conformity ideal which "demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrants' ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group" (Gordon, 1964), lost support around the end of the nineteenth century (Nelson, 1987) when cultural diversity among immigrants began to expand. The melting pot theory, which encouraged "a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with the other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new American indigenous type" (Gordon, 1964), prevailed till it became impossible to expect so many diverse groups to fuse into a homogeneous unit.

The debate between cultural pluralism (which gained popularity around the 1920s) and particularism characterizes the issue of ethnic identity and assimilation in America today. Both these theories propagate the importance of preserving cultural and ethnic identities. However, the former encourages maintaining ethnic diversity within the context of the broad American identity while the latter exhorts minorities to cultivate their identities outside the parameters of the "Eurocentric" American culture (Ravitch, 1990).

Assimilation, whichever form it may assume, has certain sub-processes to it which determine the extent of assimilation. Behavioral assimilation is defined as the immigrant's surface level adoption of the American culture while structural assimilation occurs when the immigrant becomes a part of the host society's organizations, social cliques, institutional activities and general civic life (Gordon, 1964). The latter, according to Gordon (1964), is the unassailable hurdle in the way of complete assimilation into the American culture. While behavioral assimilation takes place relatively easily, structural assimilation takes much longer to occur — if

it occurs at all. Immigrants, in order to succeed in American society, make a conscious effort to follow American cultural patterns and norms. However, when it comes to the issue of behavioral patterns, they tend to abide by their original customs and ethnic ways of life (Gordon, 1964).

Another theory attributes the possibility and extent of assimilation to generational differences. First generation immigrants are more likely to retain their basic cultural values and maintain connections with their homelands in order to preserve a sense of identity. Second generation immigrants tend to assimilate more easily into the American culture since they are born into it. Third generation immigrants, on the other hand, tend to search for their ethnic roots by delving into their original cultural heritage (De Vos, 1975).

Another reason why immigrants tend to maintain their ethnic identities is because when they first arrive in America, several of them remain financially dependent on sources in their homelands and often lose the status and respect they were used to in their homelands (Glazer and Moynihan, 1974).

Other scholars opine that cultural ethnicity may be more influential than geographic location (Dolphin, 1991). Also, as mentioned earlier, immigrants who arrive from countries with cultures, religions and languages very different from the mainstream American culture have a difficult time adjusting to the ways of American society. In order to lessen the stress of inter-cultural experience, these immigrants need, at least initially, the support of their ethnic enclaves and communication systems (Kim, 1991). In the words of Storti (1990), "Strategic cultural withdrawal is entirely appropriate, even healthy, especially during the early weeks in a country when the impact of being abroad is most intense."

Ethnic minority media in America

The ethnic minority media in America attempt to fulfil the role of bridging the gap between immigrants and their homelands by providing news and other

programs connected to the cultural context of their native lands (Marzolf, 1973). This process helps in maintaining original ethnic identities.

Robert Park's (1922) view that the ethnic press tends to lean toward the pattern followed by the mainstream American press has been contended by subsequent studies which have shown that ethnic media in America supplement general mainstream news with news from the homeland and provide it to the ethnic audience within the ideological framework of the socio-economic, political and cultural realities of the native land (Marzolf, 1973).

Park (1922) saw the ethnic press function as a 'brake and accelerator' from the perspective of the Anglo-Conformist theory of assimilation. According to him, the ethnic press speeds up the process of assimilating immigrants into the broad Anglo-Saxon American culture by informing them about the ways, rules and norms of American society. However, it also functions as a brake toward complete assimilation since the ethnic element present in them causes immigrants to remain loyal to their native cultures.

Marzolf (1973), on the other hand, saw the ethnic press functioning as 'brake and accelerator' from the point of view of the cultural pluralism ideal of assimilation. According to her, both functions are positive since the latter helps to speed up behavioral assimilation while the former helps to preserve a sense of ethnic identity within a whole. In other words, the ethnic minority media play the dual role of effecting cultural preservation and also the assimilation of the minority groups into the dominant culture in which they are immersed (Riggins, 1992).

The prime reasons for the need for ethnic media in America stems from the fact that the mainstream media tends to exclude minority issues, under-represent them or portray them as special problems (Riggins, 1992). For instance, Hispanics constitute more than nine percent of the nation's population but they remain virtually invisible on television — America's primary source of news. The same

applies in the case of Asians who constitute three percent of the country's population but are visible less than one percent of the time on television (Nieves, 1995).

The problem of under-representation is further compounded by the fact that 'reality-based' shows such as Cops and America's Most Wanted portray Hispanics, Asians, African Americans and some Europeans (such as Italians) as criminals most of the time (Nieves, 1995). Therefore, as far as the domestic portrayals are concerned, minorities do not get a fair chance on mainstream American television.

Mainstream U.S. media and the coverage of international news

Tied in with the issue of the domestic portrayal of minority ethnic groups on mainstream television is the issue of international news coverage or coverage of news from the original homelands for these groups.

According to John Galtung's structural theory of imperialism, the international structure of nations allows the industrialized nations of the north to dominate over the weaker south (Galtung, 1980). Arguing along the same lines, the New World Information Order debate of the 1970s and 1980s raised the contention that the western media tends to portray fragmented, biased and primarily conflict-ridden pictures of developing nations to their publics (Richstad and Anderson, 1981).

Several studies have been conducted which show that the mainstream U.S. media's treatment of international news is insufficient, and often biased against developing countries (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1983). The following studies proved helpful in building a base for this study.

In their study of international news coverage by the New York Times, and ABC, CBS and NBC, Shoemaker, et al. (1991) found that one-fourth of the sample of stories from the New York Times focused on world events while the three networks devoted only one-tenth of their news-window to international news. Events

differing from U.S. national values and those which occurred in nations politically and economically significant to the U.S. were more likely to be covered. The years examined for this study were 1984 and 1985.

In a study of media coverage of international disasters, Singer, et al.(1991), examined the New York Times, Time, Newsweek, and ABC, CBS and NBC for the years 1960 and 1984. The findings revealed that the number of deaths and geographic proximity affected coverage. No consistent biases against any world region(s) were apparent.

Wanta and Hu (1993), in a recent study, examined the agenda-setting impact of international news in the New York Times, ABC, CBS and NBC for the period 1975 to 1990. The results indicate that stories carrying a strong element of conflict, and those which featured Americans tended to have a stronger agenda-setting impact than the other categories of stories examined.

In a 10-year analysis (1972-1981) of international news coverage by ABC, CBS and NBC, Weaver, et al.(1984) found that the amount of coverage remained constant over the period studied. The findings also indicated that major domestic happenings led to the reduction of international news coverage for that period.

These studies indicate that a number of factors such as foreign relations, national values, geographic proximity, conflict-content, major domestic happenings and featuring of America/Americans affect the tone and volume of international news coverage by the mainstream media including network television.

Did these factors continue to affect international coverage in the early 1990s? Did some new patterns of coverage emerge? Although this study examines the tone and volume of coverage of all the world regions, the nature of coverage of Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and other developing regions are of particular importance since the immigrants of the 1990s hail primarily from these regions.

Characteristics of network news

In order to reach meaningful conclusions about the tone, volume and topics of international news coverage by the ABC, CBS and NBC, it is important to keep in mind the general characteristics of national network news.

As compared to the print media, television news operates under great time constraints since everything has to be squeezed into roughly 22 minutes of air time (Hunter and Gross, 1980). Therefore, elimination rather than inclusion, is the rule. According to Westin (1982), former executive producer of ABC news, the three main questions, by order of priority, that govern network news content are:

1. Is my world safe?
2. Are my city and home safe?
3. If my wife. children and loved ones are safe, then what has happened in the last 24 hours to shock them, amuse them or make them better off than they were?

As a result of broadly allowing the above criteria to decide news content, the networks tend to focus mainly on domestic news, often at the expense of international events of significant news value. In the words of Westin (1982), "the networks give more air time to Washington minutiae than to medium-weight stories from abroad." He suggests that the inclusion of world region specialists in covering news could help address the issue of unbalanced world news coverage.

Method

This study used the method of content analysis which is a research technique for the "objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelsen, 1952). Since the majority of the media news flow pattern and content studies upto date (see literature review) have successfully used this method, it was considered appropriate to apply it to this study.

Sample selection

Four random weeks, excluding weekends, were constructed (Stempel, 1981) from each of the four years (1990-1993) studied. One week was constructed from every quarter of each year. This process resulted in a total of 16 constructed weeks for all four years.

All the international news stories broadcast in the early evening newscasts of ABC, CBS and NBC on the days selected (20 for each year and 80 for all four years) were examined. Sixty newscasts were examined each year for the three networks combined adding upto a total of 240 newscasts for all four years. The Vanderbilt Archive network news transcripts were used to analyze the newscasts.

Each individual story, not the newscast, was the unit of analysis for the study. A total sample of 972 international news stories were analyzed for all three networks from 1990 to 1993. Of this total, 358 stories were from ABC, 305 stories from CBS and 309 stories from NBC.

Note: The weekends were excluded while constructing the weeks since the world of politics and business operate primarily between Mondays and Fridays, and the amount of news available over the weekends is perceptibly less than the amount that flows in during the weekdays (Stempel, 1981).

Operational definitions of coding categories

1. Serial Number

2. Date

3. Network

4. Total Number of Stories in Newscast: This category recorded the total number of stories in the newscast (domestic and international) in order to calculate the total number of international stories as a percentage of the total number of stories in the newscasts examined.

5. World Region of Origin of Story: The world regions selected were based on those used by Weaver, et al.(1984) in their analysis of international news in the three networks. The coder was required to record the main region from which the story originated. The regional categories used were the following:

I. Asia and the Pacific

II. Western Europe

III. Eastern Europe (including former U.S.S.R)

IV. Middle East

V. Africa

VI. Central and South America and the Caribbean

VII. International/UN/Other

6. Main Topic of Story: The topics selected to examine the content of the stories were also based on the study by Weaver, et al.(1984):

I. Foreign Relations - Military/Trade/Defense/Political/Aid

II. Domestic1 - Political/Government/Military/Defense

III. Domestic2 - Economic/Business/Agriculture/Labor/Wages

IV. Crime/Terrorism/Justice/Law/Disaster/Accidents/War/Violence

V. Race Relations/Religion

VI. Human Interest

VII. Education/Environment (including pollution)

VIII. Art/Culture/History/Entertainment/Media

IX. Sports

X. Prominent Persons (not politicians)

XI. Science/Technology/Health and Medical Matters

XII. Miscellaneous

7. Conflict/Negative Content in Story: This category recorded whether or not the story focused on conflict or had an overall negative tone.

Reliability

An item-by-item reliability test (Stempel, 1981) using five percent of the sample (12 newscasts) was conducted by the author and two other coders in order to validate the coding categories and variables. The reliability ranged from a 100% for categories 1 through 4, 89% for category 5, 87% for category 6 and 92% for category 7. The overall reliability for all the categories combined was 95.4%. The level of significance for the study was set at 0.05.

Results and Discussion

Distribution of international and domestic stories — 1990-1993

It is important to keep in mind that this study measured the number of stories and not the amount of time devoted to international news from immigrants' homelands.

A total of 1640 domestic stories and 972 international stories were broadcast in the 240 newscasts examined. The distribution of these stories (see Table 1) shows that ABC devoted 40% of all its news stories to international coverage, the highest for all three networks. CBS followed with 37% and NBC with 35%. Significance at the level of 0.05 was established for this data indicating the strength of the relationship among the percentages obtained.

Frequencies of world regions of origin of international stories — 1990-1993

In the international stories examined, the Middle East (27.7%) and Eastern Europe (26.3%) were covered the most by all three networks (see Table 2). The occurrence of the Gulf War, ethnic violence in Yugoslavia and the Russian situation comprised the bulk of this coverage.

Of the remaining regions, Western Europe was covered 12% of the time followed by Asia and the Pacific (11.5%), Africa (8.5%), International/UN/Other

(7.7%) and Central and South America and the Caribbean, which was covered the least at 6.3%.

Individually, after the Middle East and Eastern Europe, ABC devoted the highest coverage to Asia and the Pacific (13.7%) followed by Western Europe (11.7%), Africa (8.7%), International/UN/Other (6.4%) and Central and South America and the Caribbean, which tailed once again at 4.7%. CBS focused on Western Europe (10.8%) followed by International/UN/Other (9.8%) Africa (8.9%), and Asia and the Pacific (8.5%). Central and South America and the Caribbean was covered the least at 6.2%. NBC, like CBS, devoted third-highest coverage to Western Europe (13.6%) followed by Asia and the Pacific (12%). Central and South America and the Caribbean was covered the most by NBC of all three networks at 8.1%. Africa and International/UN/Other tailed with 7.8% and 7.1%, respectively.

Frequencies of topics covered in international stories — 1990-1993

All three networks focused primarily on crime, terrorism, war, violence, etc., (38.1%) in their international coverage (see Table 3), followed by foreign relations (30%) and domestic1 (13.3%). None of the other topics were covered more than 4% of the time. The least coverage was given to education and environment (0.8%) and art, culture, history, entertainment and media (1.2%)..

Regionally, stories originating from Asia and the Pacific dealt mainly with foreign relations (43.8% of all stories on the region) followed by crime, terrorism, violence, etc., at 24.1% and domestic1 at 11.6%. Education and environment wasn't covered at all. Stories originating from Western Europe dealt mainly with crime, terrorism, violence, etc., (41.9% of all stories on the region) followed by domestic2 at 32.5%, foreign relations at 19.7% and sports at 11.1%.

Stories from Eastern Europe were mainly about domestic1 (30.9% of all stories on the region) followed by crime, terrorism, violence, war, etc., at 26.2% and foreign relations at 25.4%. Stories originating from the Middle East dealt primarily with

crime, terrorism, violence, war, etc., (49.8% of all stories on the region) followed by foreign relations at 31.6%. As in the case of Asia and the Pacific, education and environment weren't covered at all.

Stories on Africa also dealt mainly with crime, terrorism, violence, etc., (41.5% of all stories on the region) followed by foreign relations at 20.7% and race relations and religion at 15.9%. Focus on apartheid in South Africa was mainly responsible for the percentage obtained for the coverage of race relations and religion in Africa. Domestic2, education and environment, prominent persons, science, technology and health and medical matters weren't covered at all.

The stories on South and Central America and the Caribbean focused highly on crime, terrorism, violence, etc., (62.3% of all stories on the region) followed by foreign relations at 19.7% and domestic1 at 13.1%. Domestic2, race relations and religion, art, culture, history, entertainment and media, sports and prominent persons weren't covered at all.

Conflict/negative content in stories

Sixty-seven percent of ABC's international stories were negative or had conflict content followed by CBS at 66% and NBC at 63%.

Conclusion

According to the ethnic and immigrant population statistics (O'Hare (1992), there has been a large influx of immigrants to the U.S. from Central and South America and the Caribbean, Asia and Africa since 1965. The trend still continues. America's African American, Hispanic and Asian population grew four times as fast as the non-Hispanic white population in the 1980s. By the turn of the century, ethnic and multicultural groups will comprise 24% of the nation's population (Herbert, 1994).

However, the findings of this study indicates that these world regions were covered the least by the early evening newscasts of ABC, CBS and NBC from 1990 to 1993. Also, the majority of the stories originating from Central and South America and the Caribbean and Africa were conflict-ridden and about crime, terrorism, war and violence. Foreign relations was the topic covered most by the stories originating from Asia and the Pacific. Also, Asia and the Pacific was covered more extensively than the other two regions. One of the possible reasons for this tone of coverage may be the fact that the Asian immigrant is labelled the 'model immigrant' (O'Hare, 1992) of the 1990s. However, the topic covered the most for Asia and the Pacific after foreign relations was crime, terrorism, etc.

A surprising finding was that along with some developing world regions, stories originating from Western Europe also dealt mostly with crime, terrorism and conflict. This indicates that coverage of conflict-ridden stories, irrespective of the region of origin, is high on the international news coverage agenda of the gatekeepers of ABC, CBS and NBC newscasts. This result corroborates Wanta and Hu's (1993) findings from the coverage of news from the three networks that a strong element of conflict has a stronger agenda-setting impact over other types of news stories.

Also, Western Europe wasn't covered the most of all the world regions. The Middle East and Eastern Europe were covered the most, and Western Europe was third. However, the stories from these two regions with maximum coverage was negative and marked by war and ethnic violence.

Despite the high conflict content in the stories examined, the international news coverage by all three networks was between 35% and 40% of the total number of news stories in the newscasts examined. This is an improvement over the results obtained by Shoemaker, et al.'s (1991) study of the three networks' which showed that no more than 10% of the news-window was devoted by any of the networks to

the coverage of international news in 1984 and 1985. However, it must be kept in mind that this study examined the total number of stories and not the total time devoted to international stories as was the case in Shoemaker, et al.'s (1993) study.

The overall conclusion derived from this study is that immigrants from all world region, except perhaps Asia and the Pacific, received mostly negative news about their homelands from the network newscasts from 1990 to 1993. Immigrants from South and Central America and the Caribbean and Africa were the most neglected, and the little news they received about their homelands was negative in content. The immigrants from the Middle East and Eastern Europe and former U.S.S.R received a high percentage of news from their homelands but the content was mostly negative. All immigrants received hardly any news about the art, culture, history, entertainment, media, sports, science, technology and health matters of their homelands.

When applying the three questions which tend to determine national network news content (see literature review) to the network news immigrants in the United States received from their homelands between 1990 and 1993, the results of this study indicate that their original home countries were mainly shown to be unsafe to the extent that they were mainly depicted as conflict-ridden. Also, they received very little or nothing about amusing matters or stories with human interest value from their homelands. Within the context of network news, this causes the picture about the homeland to be skewed in the minds of those immigrants who wish to relate with their countries of origin.

What connotations do these results have for the immigrants in America and the multicultural content of mainstream broadcast news? Mainstream network television does little by way of portraying other world regions, especially developing regions, and peoples in a sufficient, fair and balanced manner through their news stories. This trend is not in keeping with the ethnic reality of the multicultural

American society. Majority of the immigrants receive negative and meager news from their native lands. Hence, the need for ethnic media is being felt more acutely today than ever before since ethnic ties, in the words of Marzolf (1973), are enduring.

References

Berelsen, Bernard. Content Analysis in Communication Research. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952.

De Vos, George. "Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accomodation." In Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change, edited by George De Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, 5-41. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1975.

Dinnerstein, Leonard and Reimers, David M. Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

D'Innocenzo, Michael and Sirefman, Josef P. "Introduction." In Immigration and Ethnicity: American Society — "Melting Pot" or "Salad Bowl"? edited by Michael D'Innocenzo and Josef P. Sirefman, ix-xi. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Dolphin, Carol Zinner. "Variables in the Use of Personal Space in Intercultural Transactions." In Intercultural Communication: A Reader, edited by Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter, 252-263. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1994.

Fairchild, Henry Pratt. "Americanization." In Race and Ethnicity in Modern America, edited by Richard J. Meister, 44-52. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974.

Galtung, Johan. The True Worlds. New York: The Free Press, 1980.

Glazer, Nathan and Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. "Beyond the Melting Pot: The Future." In Race and Ethnicity in Modern America, edited by Richard J. Meister, 101-106. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974.

Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Herbert, Solomon J. "How Are Companies Achieving Workplace Diversity?" The Black Collegian, First Semester (October) 1994, p.55.

Hunter, Julius k, and Gross, Lynne S. Broadcast News: The Inside Out. St. Louis, MO: The C.V. Mosby Company, 1980.

Jones, Maldwyn Allen. American Immigration. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Kallen, Horace M. "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot." In Race and Ethnicity in Modern America, edited by Richard J. Meister, 53-61. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974.

Kim, Young Yun. "Adapting to a New Culture." In Intercultural Communication: A Reader, edited by Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter, 392-405. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1994.

Martin, Philip and Midgley, Elizabeth. "Immigration to the United States: Journey to an Uncertain Destination." Population Bulletin, 49(2):1-44(1994).

Marzolf, Marion. "America's Enduring Ethnic Press." A Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism, Colorado, August 1973, ERIC Document EL 083 621.

Marzolf, Marion and Tolliver, Kolba. "Kerner Plus 10: Conference on the Minorities and the Media." A Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism, Michigan, April 1977, ERIC Document ED 149 382.

Meister, Richard J. "Introduction." In Race and Ethnicity in Modern America, edited by Richard J. Meister, vii-xx. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974.

Morganthau, Tom. "What Color is Black?" Newsweek, 13 February 1995, p.62-65.

Nelson, Brent A. Assimilation: "The Ideal and the Reality." The American Immigration Control Foundation Monograph Series, Paper # 6, 1987.

Nieves, Santiago. "Latinos' Incredible Shrinking TV Image." Extra, January/February 1995, p.18.

O'Hare, William P. "America's Minorities — The Demographics of Diversity." Population Bulletin, 47:1-45(1992).

Park, Robert E. The Immigrant Press and Its Control. New York: Harper & Bros., 1922.

Ravitch, Diane. "Diversity and Democracy: Multicultural Education in America." American Educator: The Professional Journal of the American Federation of Teachers, 14(1):16-20, 46-48(1990).

Richstad, Jim and Anderson, Michael H. "Introduction." In Crisis in International News: Policies and Perspectives, edited by Jim Richstad and Michael H. Anderson, 1-5. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

Riggins, Stephen Harold. "The Media Imperative: Ethnic Minority Survival in the Age of Mass Communication." In Ethnic Minority Media: An International Perspective, edited by Stephen Harold Riggins, 1-20. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1992.

Shoemaker, Pamela J., Lucig, Damelian H., and Brendlinger, Nancy. "Deviant Acts, Risky Business and U.S. Interests: The Newsworthiness of World Events." Journalism Quarterly, 68:781-795(1991).

Singer, Eleanor, Endrewy, Phyllis and Glassman, Marc B. "Media Coverage of Disasters: Effect of Geographic Location." Journalism Quarterly, 68:48-58(1991).

Stempel, Guido H. "Content Analysis." In Research Methods in Mass Communication, edited by Guido H. Stempel and Bruce H. Westley, 124-136. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1981.

Storti, Craig. The Art of Crossing Cultures. Maine: Intercultural Press, Inc., 1990.

Wanta, W. and Hu, Y.H. "The Agenda-Setting Effects of International News Coverage: An Examination of Differing News Frames." International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 5(3):250-264(1993).

Weaver, David and Wilhoit, G. Cleveland. "Foreign News Coverage in Two U.S. Wire Services: An Update." Journal of Communication, 33(2):132-148(1983).

Weaver, James B., Porter, Christopher J., and Evans, Margaret E. "Patterns in Foreign News Coverage on U.S. Network T.V.: A 10-Year Analysis." Journalism Quarterly, 61:356-363(1984).

Westin, Av. Newswatch: How TV Decides the News. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Table 1
Distribution of International and Domestic Stories in 240 ABC, CBS and NBC (Combined) Newscasts — 1990-1993

	ABC	CBS	NBC
Total number of international stories in newscasts examined	358 (40%)	305 (37%)	309 (35%)
Total number of domestic stories in newscasts examined	538 (60%)	521 (63%)	581 (65%)
Total	896 (100%)	826 (100%)	581 (100%)

N = 2612* Chi-square = 6.11 (d.f. = 2) $p \leq 0.05$

* The N for Table 1 is more than 972 (total number of international stories examined) since this table illustrates the international stories as a percentage of all the stories broadcast (domestic and international) in the newscasts examined.

Table 2
Frequencies of World Regions Covered by ABC, CBS and NBS Newscasts as a Percentage of Total Number of International Stories — 1990-1993

Region of Origin of Story	ABC	CBS	NBC	Total % of N
Asia and the Pacific	13.7% (49)	8.5% (26)	12% (37)	11.5% (112)
Western Europe	11.7% (42)	10.8% (33)	13.6% (42)	12% (117)
Eastern Europe (including former U.S.S.R.)	27.7% (99)	27.2% (83)	23.9% (74)	26.3% (256)
Middle East	27.1% (97)	28.5% (87)	27.5% (85)	27.7% (269)
Africa	8.7% (31)	8.9% (27)	7.8% (24)	8.5% (82)
Central and South America and the Caribbean	4.7% (17)	6.2% (19)	8.1% (25)	6.3% (61)
International/UN/Other	6.4% (23)	9.8% (30)	7.1% (22)	7.7% (75)
Total	100% (358)	100% (305)	100% (309)	100% (972)

N = 972

Table 3
Frequencies of Topics Covered by ABC, CBS and NBC Newscasts as a Percentage of Total Number of International Stories — 1990-1993

Topics	ABC	CBS	NBC	Total % of N
Foreign Relations - Military/ Trade/Defense/Political/Aid	26.8% (96)	29.8% (91)	34% (105)	30% (292)
Domestic1 - Political/Government/Military/Defense	14.5% (52)	11.8% (36)	13.3% (41)	13.3% (129)
Domestic2 - Economic/Business/Agriculture/Labor/Wages	3.6% (13)	3% (9)	2.3% (7)	3% (29)
Crime/Terrorism/Justice/Law/ Disaster/Accidents/War/ Violence	39.1% (140)	41.3% (126)	33.7% (104)	38.1% (370)
Race Relations/Religion	5.9% (21)	3.3% (10)	2.6% (8)	4% (39)
Human Interest	2.8% (10)	1.3% (4)	3.9% (12)	2.7% (26)
Education/Environment (including pollution)	0.8% (3)	1.3% (4)	0.3% (1)	0.8% (8)
Art/Culture/History/ Entertainment/Media	1.4% (5)	1.3% (4)	1% (3)	1.2% (12)
Sports	1.1% (4)	0.7% (2)	2.6% (8)	1.4% (14)
Prominent Persons (not politicians)	1.7% (6)	2.3% (7)	3.2% (10)	2.4% (23)
Science/Technology/Health and Medical Matters	1.1% (4)	2.3% (7)	1.9% (6)	1.7% (17)
Miscellaneous	1.1% (4)	1.6% (5)	1.3% (4)	1.4% (13)
Total	100% (358)	100% (305)	100% (309)	100% (972)

N = 972

Coding Sheet for News from Homeland in ABC, CBS and NBC —1990-1993

Nilanjana Bardhan

April 1995

1. Serial Number ___03/

2. Date __/__/__04-09/

3. Network __10/

   1 = ABC 2 = CBS 3 = NBC

4. Total Number of Stories in Newscast __11/

5. World Region of Origin of Story __12/
   1 = Asia and the Pacific
   2 = Western Europe
   3 = Eastern Europe (including former U.S.S.R)
   4 = Middle East
   5 = Africa
   6 = Central and South America and the Caribbean
   7 = International/UN/Other

6. Main Topic of Story __13-14/
   1 = Foreign Relations - Military/Trade/Defense/Political/Aid
   2 = Domestic1 - Political/Government/Military/Defense
   3 = Domestic2 - Economic/Business/Agriculture/Labor/Wages
   4 = Crime/Terrorism/Justice/Law/Disasters/Accidents/War/Violence
   5 = Race Relations/Religion
   6 = Human Interest
   7 = Education/Environment (including pollution)
   8 = Art/Culture/History/Entertainment/Media
   9 = Sports
   10 = Prominent Persons (not politicians)
   11 = Science/Technology/Health and Medical Matters
   12 = Miscellaneous

7. Conflict/Negative Content in Story __15/

   1 = Yes 2 = No